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This conference report is made up of six papers and related commentaries on the nature of disadvantagement and its implications. Most participants were from the Milwaukee, Wisconsin, area. Small group meetings and discussions followed each of the papers. The opening paper, "Education and the Disadvantaged" (E. Melby), examined a broad range of problems facing the educational establishment. The other papers, more limited in scope, discussed only one aspect of the broad issue of disadvantagement. They are--"The Legal Responsibilities of Public Schools for Dealing With Minority Group Members" (R. Carter), "In-Service Training for Teachers of the Disadvantaged" (J. Tanner), "Deviancy and the Disadvantaged" (W. Wattenberg), and "Curriculum for the Disadvantaged" (G. Whipple). A paper by H. Goldman which emerged from the conference, and which is included in this volume, examines the essentially middle-class and female-dominated nature of the schools. (DK)

EDUCATION AND THE DISADVANTAGED

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EDUCATION AND THE DISADVANTAGED

Proceedings of A Conference on the Disadvantaged
at
The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

June 8 and 9, 1967

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PREFACE

When the preliminary discussions regarding the form that this conference should take were held, there appeared to be general agreement that a multifaceted approach to the problems of the disadvantaged would offer the most opportunities for the participants to examine the nature of disadvantagement and its implications for those encased in its tightly knit web of depressing circumstances.

To accomplish the desired end, each of the speakers, other than the keynote speaker, took under consideration a rather narrow topic---The Legal Responsibilities of Public Schools for Dealing with Minority Group Members (Robert L. Carter), In-Service Training for Teachers of the Disadvantaged (James R. Tanner), Deviancy and the Disadvantaged (William W. Wattenberg), and Curriculum for the Disadvantaged (Gertrude Whipple)---with a view toward exploring in depth its implications for and relationship to those students in our schools currently termed "disadvantaged."

Ernest O. Melby, the opening speaker, discussed the broader topic of Education and the Disadvantaged, and examined a broad range of problematic situations currently facing the educational establishment.

The following factors, each of which is integrally related to the others, prompted the organization of this conference---1) to share with all interested parties the knowledge and insights of nationally known speakers who are intimately involved with the various aspects of disadvantagement; 2) the need to once again provide an opportunity for educators representing every level of the educational spectrum to examine the nature and conditions of disadvantagement as they relate to the schools; 3) provision of a forum through which those segments of the community which are vitally interested in the problems of urban education would have the opportunity to express their views; 4) and to create a situation in which urban and suburban educators could explore common problems of immediate concern relating to the education of all children.

Those attending the conference represented a variety of formal professional and civic agencies concerned with the problems of the disadvantaged and drawn largely from Milwaukee County, but some of whom were from other areas of the state. Some of the organizations represented follow: teachers' organizations, school administrators from a variety of school systems, social workers, boards of education, the State Department of Public Instruction, most major civic groups, civil rights organizations, parochial school systems, most of the Leagues of Women Voters in the area, elected public officials, and colleges and universities throughout the state.

The participants separated in small discussion groups after each of the major presentations, and the information derived from those small-group meetings is presented in this book after each major speech. Sincere appreciation is expressed to the following who served as discussion group leaders after each of the general sessions: Mr. Douglas M. Brown, Dr. Archie A. Buchmiller, Mr. William M. Burton, Mrs. Elisabeth Holmes, Mr. James P. Murphy, Dr. David Oliensis, Dr. Frisby D. Smith, Mr. Frank Spicuzza, Mr. Frank J. Splitek, and Dr. Daniel Tanner. Their efforts represented an important contribution to the conference.

H.G.

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EDUCATION AND THE DISADVANTAGED

THE MAGNITUDE OF THE PROBLEM!

William A. Jenkins, Associate Dean of Education at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, presented the "Official Welcome" and clearly delineated both the nature and importance of the problem---"...I think that the problem which you are about to take up today is without question the most pressing one facing public education today." He succinctly pointed out that our society has clearly expressed its unwillingness to invest the resources needed to correct existing conditions which relate to and are causes of disadvantagement and, in this way, daily expresses its disregard for the forty to fifty million Americans (as stated by Michael Harrington in The Other America) currently living in poverty. While the majority of Americans remain satisfied with "throwing bread crumbs to the poor," the already appalling conditions in which they live and die grow progressively worse. We must, as Mr. Jenkins points out, face the problem squarely; we must do it now; and we must invest whatever resources are needed--both human and monetary--if the disadvantaged are ever to be released from the vice-like grip of poverty in which they are imprisoned and if our society is ever to be released from the grip of fear which impinges upon every middle-class heart with each successive "long hot summer." There is no logical reason whatsoever for confining riots to the traditional summer vacation period. It may well be that the threat of such outbreaks will now be with us on a year-round basis unless drastic and immediate steps are taken to eliminate the conditions fostering these futile and self-defeating forms of expression.

OFFICIAL WELCOME

William A. Jenkins*

On behalf of the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, the School of Education faculty, and the administration, I should like to welcome all of you to our Invitational Conference on the Disadvantaged. We are extremely pleased and honored to have such a distinguished roster of speakers and participants with us for these two days. We can only wish you very productive sessions and stimulating discussions. We hope that when the conference comes to an end tomorrow afternoon you will have felt that it was truly worthwhile.

We ask that as you listen to each of our speakers you consider the implications of their viewpoints for your own agency. And having thought through the implications, ask yourself how each of them might be dealt with by your agency.

There are probably those who would disagree but I think that the topic which you are about to take up is without question the most pressing one facing public education today. Its roots go very deep and its branches spread very wide, casting a shadow, and in this case an ominous shadow, over much of what we do in public education. I think it is among the rankest of paradoxes that the Supreme Court decision of 1954 which abolished the legal basis for segregation of children in the public schools, in one sense has been the solidifying and rigidifying force behind the concentration of disadvantaged children in some of our public schools. The flight to the suburbs of middle class Caucasian families was not caused by this decision, but it in my opinion was accelerated by the decision. The court's decision was criticized, and I believe is still being criticized in many circles, for being a sociological decision rather than a legal one. I am neither sociologist nor lawyer but I would hazard the guess that the only thing wrong with the decision was that it has not been rigorously enforced, and that it left loopholes which have permitted de facto segregation. I believe that the tap root, if not all of the roots of the problem of the disadvantaged, was permitted to grow by the loopholes in this decision. I am sure Mr. Carter in his address later on will have much to say on this subject and I do not want to pre-empt any of his thoughts. But I do think that the paradox is worth noting.

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*Mr. Jenkins is Acting Dean of the School of Education, The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.

Let me follow through with my metaphor of the tree with roots and branches. Before we can really remove the tree of the disadvantaged we will have to excavate deeply to get at its many roots. They lie in the problems of money needed to provide such things as compensatory education. In my view, compensatory education can only be a makeshift, perhaps only a theory, for few communities will support to the degree necessary the enormous amounts of money needed to truly compensate for an unfavorable environmental situation for groups of children who are almost exclusively non-white. The roots lie in peer relationships and street influences which are so pervasive and powerful that it is virtually impossible for educational innovation and technological developments, or even money, to offset them. The roots also lie in the fact that schools where we find the disadvantaged often represent undesirable teaching situations, and the poorer teachers, quite frequently themselves the product of inferior education, often are assigned to those buildings. The education provided in these schools is mirrored by the cold, blank, stark walls of the school buildings themselves.

Children of poverty, or if you prefer the term disadvantaged children, suffer from a very unfortunate homogeneous grouping. They are homogeneous in low level of income, unbalanced and unnutritious diets, family situations which do not have the full and normal quota of natural parents, ad infinitum. Variety, such as that which we have recognized on our college campus, simply does not exist. Here we know full well that it is best to have all social, economic and cultural levels represented in our student body. We know that it is best to have students from as many other lands as is possible among our student body simply because the differing cultural and national origins, religions, points of view and so on, contribute to the education of our students. Those who would deny that the child in the public school must also have this variety in his educational situation can only be judged as less than candid, perhaps dishonest, and perhaps unethical. No amount of money spent on materials or even good teachers can make up for this deficiency.

The paradox which I pointed to earlier might be used in other regards. There are people, for example, who insist that those members of our society who find themselves currently in poverty and disadvantaged situations can move out into the middle and professional classes. This may be true for some of those groups, but it by no means is true of all of them. Possibly one of the most fantastic tales that I have heard recently concerns a brief notation in one of the so-called Negro magazines. This magazine pointed out that the color line is beginning to crumble in Key Clubs across the country and that there will now be colored Bunnies in these clubs. I suppose this is a breakthrough of sorts and one that we should take note of, but I am not certain that it is indicative of a pervasive revolutionary trend. President Johnson pointed out last year and Martin Luther King this year, that the Negro in America is actually losing ground socially, economically, and culturally. Just to cite two instances. In 1965 the rate of unemployment for the Negro, and I think he epitomizes the disadvantaged group, was twice that of the Caucasian. Yet in 1930 the unemployment rate was about the same for the two groups. In another example, the infant mortality rate for non-whites is 90 per cent greater than for whites, the highest it has ever been in this century.

Let me make one more point and then stop. This I do not as an official spokesman for the School of Education, but as a person who strongly believes in an idea. I mention it here because it is an idea that will come before this conference, I am sure. To me it is a contradiction of terms to say in speaking of Indian children, that their school is red, but good, or in speaking of Puerto Rican children that their school is brown, but good, or in speaking of Negro children that their school is black, but good. I think these terms are contradictions which can never be mated. It is my sincere and profound belief that until we as educators accept this position much of what we do will be tilting at windmills. The same might be said for communities which insist that their schools can be red, but good, or brown, but good. This issue, of course, goes much deeper than the schools. As we have seen, often in disturbing fashion through protest marches and other more violent activities, the very foundations of communities may be shaken by conflict over this issue. Perhaps it might not be too extreme to say that those communities which do not face this issue squarely may very well perish. I am sure this issue will come before you.

Let me close on a pleasant note, a note quite relevant to what you are about to undertake. One of my favorite stories is told by the professional storyteller, Myron Cohen. I know better than to attempt to tell it the way he does, or with his accent. Let us set the story in Wisconsin. We are at a lumber camp in the far north. To the foreman's shack one day comes a rather scrawny man who knocks on the door and asks for a job as a lumberjack. The big, burly, beefy, foreman looks at him, laughs, and says, "You, young fella, you couldn't be a lumberjack." But the scrawny man insists and so the foreman points to a nearby three inch oak, and handing him an axe says, "Cut it down." With one fell swoop, one blow of the axe, the tree is cut down. The foreman is slightly nonplussed, so he takes the scrawny man to another part of the camp and points to an oak which conservatively is eighteen inches in diameter. The scrawny man takes one look at it, raises his axe, and in four strokes the eighteen inch oak comes tumbling down. By this time the foreman is apoplectic. He says, "How did you learn to be such a lumberjack?" The scrawny man looks at him and says, "Well, I just learned through experience." The foreman persists: "Well, where did you get your experience?" The scrawny man says, "Well, I got it in the Sahara forest." "The Sahara forest? The Sahara is a desert." The scrawny man looked at him and said, "Well, yes, now!" What we must attempt, I believe, is quite similar to making a desert out of the Sahara forest.

I wish you success in your discussions, and I say again that we are very pleased to have you with us.

WHO IS TO BLAME?

Ernest Melby presented the participants with a comprehensive overview of the many conflicts facing the disadvantaged student upon entering school, with emphasis being placed on the destructive nature of our present grading systems, the need for school systems to develop new goals which are in agreement with the demands of our present society, the continuing failure of our "patchwork approach" to solving existing problems, and the unrealistic use of school facilities. However, his most blistering attack was directed toward the contemporary educator's concern with subject matter, with how many facts students learn, and their blatant lack of concern for the process of education, the effects of interpersonal relationships at all levels and their effect upon the learning process.

Implied in his discussion of the "ills" to which education is currently subject is the fact that we are currently directing all of our efforts toward dealing with undesirable situations which are merely symptomatic of basic inadequacies within our organizational structure while permitting the causal factors to remain untouched.

Another point of major importance refers to the inability of the numerous educational systems throughout the country to develop goals in substantial agreement with the requirements of our society and which would serve as "guiding lights" for the development of educational strategies. In effect, the implication is clearly made that we are currently attempting to "educate for the future" with techniques and facilities designed for the past. Contemporary educational practices are very similar to those of five decades ago regardless of the facts that our society has changed considerably, that the composition of our student clientele bears little resemblance to that of fifty years ago, and that the over-whelming weight of available research indicates the need for a drastic overhaul of present operations.

Education and the Disadvantaged

Ernest O. Melby*

Having been asked to discuss the general problem of "Education and the Disadvantaged", I can only begin by pointing out that education, as we know it today, is seriously inadequate. Most people do not realize how outdated and routine it is.

Having learning difficulties is very much like being ill. You don't know how serious it is going to be unless you visit a doctor and have the condition diagnosed. Without proper diagnosis you will probably die. If we are going to face the facts regarding contemporary education, we must first recognize the major problems facing the profession; we have to face up to who we are, what we are, and where all of the problems are coming from. We must look at the situation in which we are living and working and ask ourselves how to best help the people with whom we work. We must seek out and put into effect those modifications which will most effectively and efficiently enable the "disadvantaged" to participate in the mainstream of American life.

A number of programs have recently been developed to deal with disadvantaged youth. One such program is Headstart; another is a remedial program to deal with dropouts and bring them back to the schools. Teachers say, "the Headstart program will get the kids ready for us." Note that they say

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* Mr. Melby is currently Distinguished Professor of Education at Michigan State University. He served as Program Coordinator of the Mott Inter-University Clinical Preparation Program for Educational Leadership and still maintains his affiliation with the program. His broad experience in both public education and university administration includes the following: teacher, superintendent, Professor of Education at Northwestern University, Chancellor of the University of Montana, President of Montana State University, and Dean of Education at New York University. Dr. Melby has authored articles for numerous educational publications and has written several books.

"prepare the children for us;" not prepare us for the children. When the child then fails in the first grade, another teacher comes along, takes him in charge, and again "prepares" him for us. But this leaves us exactly where we were in the beginning; we operate as we did previously and feel that we have nothing to worry about. Young teachers are now part of a gigantic mop-up crew; the way we now teach children insures that this mop-up crew will have life-long jobs. While we work in one building attempting to educate children, we are at the same time seeing to it that the mop-up crew in the building across the street will always have full classrooms.

I want to point out to you that for these children, disadvantaged children, the school is a greater impediment to their becoming successful learners than is the community. I think this can be proved. Studies conducted with disadvantaged children in the inner-cities throughout our country tend to show that the schools must accept much of the blame for the low levels of achievement which these children attain. Between the first and fourth or fifth grades there is a predictable regression of scores on all standardized tests which these children attempt. Naturally, as their achievement test scores go down, their intelligence quotients also tend to drop. At the same time the students tend to dislike school more and more.

When children enter school today we expect them all to begin at the same point in the curriculum and to progress at similar rates. Knowing what we do about the way children develop, it is obvious that these expectations are highly unrealistic. All children do not begin to walk or talk or feed themselves at the same time, and we consistently point out that individual differences are significant factors affecting these variations. Why, then, do we become upset if every first grade child is not prepared to begin reading and writing? Do we assume that individual differences cease to exist as soon as children enter school? How do we account for the fact that differences in communities, home situations, perceptions, and interpersonal relationships may affect the child's ability to learn? Or is it just possible that we make little or no attempt to correct for such factors?

Some have tried to correct the situation through the use of what is called a Personalized Curriculum (as in Flint, Michigan); others through the use of an Urban Boarding School (as in North Carolina). All of the current school approaches imply that all we need to do is to touch up existing programs a little bit. In retrospect, I believe the cause of many of the problems is the educational systems themselves.

So that is how it begins. As soon as the child starts school, the teacher begins to teach him what she thinks he ought to learn; the child hates school since the material to which he is subjected does not have any relevance to his needs; and the child, as a result, comes out second best.

There is a lesson to be learned from this. We have to learn to listen to other people. I have listened to an awful lot of speeches in the last ten years. Twenty years ago when I attended conventions and listened to speeches, a lot was heard about children. I listened to presentations about human growth and development. Now, I don't hear anything about children. I don't hear anything about human development. I haven't heard a speech on human development in the last five years. What is it I now hear about---the new mathematics, the new sciences, the new team teaching, computers, and television sets. Anything about children? No, nothing.

In the last fifty years we have learned a great deal about the human organism, and also about learning. We know that science has contributed to this body of knowledge, pediatricians have contributed to it, the psychologists have contributed to it, and numerous others have also made important contributions.

We are ignoring this whole body of knowledge. I am appalled when I hear my colleagues say that we need to search for a scientific basis for education; that we need more and better research if we are to understand the processes with which we are dealing.

The greatest problem isn't that we don't have enough research; the most serious short-coming is that we don't use the research we have. As we were getting into my car to go to Ann Arbor one day, I asked Dean Olson of the University of Michigan (who is probably one of our best known and most sensitive students of children) why is it that all this research on human development is being ignored? His reply was that we are afraid to face this knowledge squarely because we have not learned to deal with its implications. He stated that the implications to be derived from existing research is too formidable. We can't face it.

We think we can somehow manipulate the materials, and through such manipulation of materials, we hope to find the answers. I think this is a losing battle; one that is self-defeating. We must treat the causes of the existing problems, not their symptoms.

I am not against the new mathematics as long as they improve the learning of children, but I find that the children in the inner city don't learn any better with the new mathematics than they did with the old mathematics. It should also be pointed out that team teaching doesn't help them very much. They are no better off if they have four teachers they don't like than if they have one teacher they don't like. And they are no better off if they have four teachers who don't like them than if they have one teacher who doesn't like them.

We are very slow to realize that the central thing in education is not the subject matter, but it is the person. Education comes about through the interaction between teachers and children. If, as a result of this interaction, teachers are convincing children that they can't learn, that people don't like them and that they are not wanted, then all the subject matter in the world will not help them to become better learners or better people; nor will a computer or a television set help you to accomplish the task at hand.

I have been living, during the past ten years, a kind of a double life. I spend about two days a week in Flint, often going there early in the morning and coming back late in the afternoon. Sometimes, after returning from Flint, I go up to the coffee room of the Michigan State College of Education and share thoughts with others who are talking about teacher education. I can't describe how I feel. These people, these professors, good as they are, continue to talk about teacher education in relation to a non-existent world. There is no relation whatever between what they are talking about and the realities which teachers, superintendents, and principals face in the big cities of America. What they are talking about is teacher education for the little towns like the one in which I was superintendent of schools in Minnesota forty years ago. Our teacher education today is better suited to these little Minnesota and Wisconsin towns than it is to Milwaukee, Chicago or Flint, or even the moderate size cities. Until we begin to see this, the teacher colleges in the universities will continue to feed into the school systems of America more teachers who will face frustration and failure not because they lack a desire for or commitment to the job, but because they lack the training, the experiences, and the sensitivity for the tasks which they face daily.

I think we must talk about some other things which are also important. Subject matter is almost an obsession in our profession, as is also our commitment to the centrality of the school house. We tend to believe that everything can be done in the school house, and that everything can be done better in the school house than anywhere else.

It also seems to me that it is silly to say that no one can teach unless he has a certificate. I think there are a lot of people in America who can teach very well and who don't have certificates. There are mothers and fathers scattered all over this United States who could come into our schools to do the many things that are desperately needed and which are not being done because we don't have the necessary personnel.

I do not believe that any school, even a very good school, can solve the problems of the inner city if it pays no attention to the parents and if it pays no attention to the community. We can not defend the practice of locking up our schools in the afternoon and keeping them locked up at night when this is the time that adults could come in to learn. Because I haven't been here very long, I'm unaware of what Milwaukee is doing to make their schools effective centers of community learning. But I know that all over America there are thousands and thousands of schools that limit their activities to dealing with children and pay very little attention to the parents.

I recall, two years ago in Flint, sitting down across the table from a young teacher from the Upper Peninsula of Michigan. I hadn't seen him for some time, so I asked how he was getting along. This was about the first of November. He had been working with us since early September and he said, "Since the first of November I have made seventy-one home calls."

He added that this was "not exactly part of a conventional teacher education program, but that it was considerably more educational than sitting in classes and discussing things about which he knew nothing."

Above all, I believe the teacher must be compassionate. People often feel that being "compassionate" means feeling sorry for people. This is not so. The compassionate person is a person who believes in people; who believes that he is involved with them at every level of living; who believes that such factors as race and ethnicity are irrelevant factors in the grand design of the human race. Education is a personal experience. I taught at New York University where my summer classes sometimes were more than fifty per cent Negro. In my dealings with people of all races and ethnic origins I found that I no longer noticed color; I finally came to see that it is a completely irrelevant factor. It has nothing to do with the worth of a person, or his ability, or his desirability, or anything else you might want to name. A few words are also in order regarding our current emphasis on desegregation. We are not going to solve our problems by desegregation alone, and this is not to say that I am against desegregation. I am concerned about what is going to happen to the Negro child who is placed in an all white school and who must daily face hostile white children and hostile teachers. In such cases I believe he might have been better off in schools with all Negro student populations. We must realize that once we have accomplished desegregation we have taken only the first step. What we have to do with these children is to instill in them a feeling of belonging; a feeling that they belong to us and we belong to them, and there isn't any way that this can be accomplished as long as the two races are kept separate.

As a white man, I believe that not to accept the Negro is to deny that he is a man. I am he. We are one. I know that this must be. Perhaps he is sorry about this, but he is stuck with me. We are all human beings. This is a fundamental fact that somehow has to come into our minds and our hearts; we are human beings bound together in the great "game of life". The colored human beings in this world are our brothers and sisters. The only way we can be whole men and whole women is to fully accept all human beings as a part of us. If we in any way fail to accept any individual as equal in our minds and hearts because of the color of his skin or any other factor, we are then only partial men.

In the Middle East today there is a war going on that is really a religious war. The Arabs are united in their hate for the Israelis. Ten years ago I was over there and know a little about what it is like. The problems which exist there will never be solved until the Arabs and the Israelis learn to accept each other and begin to deal with each other in an atmosphere of mutual respect.

But we must realize that this can not be learned from a book. You learn this from working with people and living with people day after day, and finally it comes through and you see that the things you once thought were important are really unimportant and that the things which bind us together are so much bigger than those which separate us.

If we are to place greater emphasis in the schools on the quality of interpersonal relationships, a number of changes must be undertaken. At the outset, we need to get rid of the "sacred cows" which the educational establishment has chosen for its own. The graded school has to go. I feel this way about every single graded school in America, coast to coast. We must do away with Carnegie Units, do away with the whole credit system that now operates in our high schools. By the way, just so you don't think I am completely "off my track" about this, let me tell you that there is a school being built in Brooklyn, New York, which is designed to house such a flexible program. It is going to be called The New High School and in this school there will be no Carnegie Units, there will be no credit system, and every thirty-six days the school will be reorganized on the basis of the needs of the children. If this can be done in New York City, it can be done anywhere. I think, definitely, that there is nothing in the world quite like the educational system in New York City. They face the most difficult problems imaginable. I was there for eleven years and know something about it. If such innovation can be accomplished in New York City it can be done anywhere because it is easier to do anything anywhere else in America than in New York City. So you see, attempts to improve our educational systems have already begun throughout the country.

The marking system which the schools presently utilize is, I believe, the most damaging single entity in our schools. To come directly to the point, if you don't do away with the marking system, you can forget about improving the rest of the system. If you don't improve the self-images of the children, it doesn't make any difference how well the reading lesson is taught. I want you to see that the teacher's biggest single responsibility is to send the child home every day liking himself better than when he came to school in the morning, and if you don't do that then you are not doing your job as a teacher. The child should go home every afternoon feeling that the day was good, that he had some success, that he liked the people he was with, and that he wants to come back in the morning. Don't worry if you don't teach him to read the first two days in school. I didn't learn to read until I was eight, and I learned too. I think that if I hadn't started school until I was ten I would read just as well as I do today, maybe even better. I would be more worried if the youngster went home each afternoon not liking himself and not wanting to come back in the morning.

One of my graduate students brought a beautiful young girl to see me in my office yesterday. She was an innocent little thing, and the cutest eleven year old you ever saw. This girl was extremely bright; she had an I.Q. of 135. Nevertheless, she hated school---the teachers, the building, the classes, and everything about it. Situations like this exist because we consistently refuse to take into consideration the needs of the children. Instead, we place major emphasis on learning the subject matter.

We must also realize that children don't develop from the fifth year to the sixth year to the seventh and eighth years in even developmental steps. The physical anthropologists and the psychologists tell us that the growth patterns of individual children vary considerably; that they initially develop slowly and that the rate of development increases markedly at certain ages. High school records of individual children show how some children start out in high school doing very poorly in the ninth year, do better in the tenth year, are fairly good students in the eleventh year, and do pretty well in the senior year; but they are then unable to get into college because their over-all average is too low.

While parking our car the other day in the corner of a parking lot in an inner city area we were examining the observable characteristics of the people in the inner city. The most noticeable thing was the attitude of despair and hopelessness that surrounded them. I have talked to dozens and dozens of them, and it is a universal thing. They have given up hope, and we did this to them. They don't do it to themselves. It wasn't only the home or community which served as the major destructive force. It was also the school; it is after they start school and after they have been in school quite a number of years that the impact of this poor self-image begins to influence every aspect of their lives.

Let me say a little bit about our teacher education institutions which must bear a heavy responsibility for the inadequacies of their past graduates and, even more important, for the inadequacies of their present and future graduates. I recently visited the college that I long ago graduated from in Minnesota and they were quite proud that the records show the majority of all the students in that college today were in the upper twenty per cent of their high school graduating classes. It is a tough college to get into today. At that time it was for everybody. Yet I didn't have a high school diploma when I started college and don't have one to this day. Without that diploma the same University would not accept me today as an undergraduate student.

Nevertheless, this can be observed as just one example of our obsession with subject matter, with what facts we learn. Who talks about what we are, what we are going to accomplish? We suffer in America today not because of what we don't know, but because we are not enough. This is largely true because people are not concerned with what we are. That people neglect the most important aspects of our existence poses numerous problems. When we look at these problems we can see that what we have become is the result of our interactions with the totality of our environments, with everything in our lives, our mothers, our fathers, our brothers, our sisters, the people next door, the people on the street, the church, the police, everything. When we express the opinion that radical changes in our school buildings will facilitate solution of the problems in our large cities, we are just as unrealistic as we can be. The housing patterns have to be changed, the police have to be changed, the parks, the health services, everything, all of us must change. And you know, if anything has received major attention in the field of education in the recent years, it is teaching methodology. We are still seeking "the" best method, not admitting that no "best" method exists. The most successful things that we have done in the inner city so far are the places where we have "pulled all the stops," where we tried everything, work in the home, work with the community, utilized all kinds of methods, enriched the curriculum, and where all available resources were invested to solve the problems. That is what is required if we are to succeed in rebuilding the inner city areas.

I was in the office of a superintendent of schools during discussions with his principals regarding non-achievers. They had a list of some of the worst cases of non-achievers. Here were a group of boys who had on their report cards all F's, all failures. At best, they faced uncertain futures. The administrative staff decided to ask individual teachers to take a personal interest in these students and talk to them very frequently in an attempt to help them. After this was done for a short period of time, most of them did average work. Many of these students passed their courses for the first time; some were getting A's, and others were just passing. One student was so difficult that the principal couldn't get a teacher to work with him. So, the principal took the job upon himself. After a number of failures during some of which the student became quite violent, the situation slowly began to improve. Today that boy is a straight "B" student. That is as radical a change as can be expected.

And it might well be stated in closing that a great many changes must be made in our educational institutions if we are ever to successfully deal with the problems currently faced in our inner cities. This is in no way to imply that our schools must initiate massive changes purely "for the sake of change." What is implied is that we must initiate structural and attitudinal changes that will permit us to deal with the causes of the problems which are threatening to overwhelm us in place of the current "patchwork approach". Each day that we refuse to accept this responsibility the conditions in our large cities become steadily worse; each day the severity of the problems increases and the possibilities of solving them in an orderly manner becomes increasingly difficult.

There is little doubt that our failure to behave in a manner consistent with known research also contributes to the low level of esteem with which educators are often viewed in our country by the many publics which constitute our society. Because of the nature of our responsibility there is little chance that we will be able to keep from public view our inability to marshall our forces and exert our influence in a direction consistent with the heavy burden placed upon us and with the needs of the contemporary American society.

Finally, most of the changes which must be initiated if educators are to maintain an important role in our society must be directed to improving the ability of all groups within our society to live together in harmony and understanding. Greater emphasis must be placed on helping our children and adults understand "what they are, who they are, and why they are." Before such an emphasis will be possible, a radical modification of the goals of the educational organization must be undertaken. Until only a few years ago, our educational institution did a fairly satisfactory job of preparing people for the type of society in which they lived; however, in recent years the nature of our society has been drastically altered but our institutions have plainly exhibited an inability to modify their goals in line with those societal alterations. The schools must change to meet the new world we face.

That, ladies and gentlemen, represents the challenge which we face today and which we must meet; the future of our society rests squarely on our shoulders.

Participants' Reactions to
Presentation by Mr. Ernest O. Melby

It is interesting to note that the reaction to Mr. Melby's speech was a mixed one and that the nature of the reactions were, apparently, highly influenced by the nature of the training and positions held by the participants. However, there was general agreement that the speech was both stimulating and thought-provoking.

Teachers and principals, in particular, were somewhat dismayed (and, perhaps, even disappointed) at the extensive criticism which the speaker leveled at the schools. In many cases this was taken as a personal attack on their ability to effectively accomplish their professional tasks. As reported by the group leaders, the teachers and principals, for the most part, expressed highly defensive behavior. Of importance is the fact that none of the educators, although behaving in a defensive manner, inferred that Mr. Melby's criticisms were not valid.

On the other hand, most of those who worked in supplementary roles within the schools (social workers, counselors, psychologists) and community representatives expressed very favorable reactions to the speech and indicated their opinion that immediate, drastic and far-reaching modifications of school systems were necessary. Since they viewed Mr. Melby's criticisms as being directed toward educators, and not at themselves, they saw little need for defensiveness. Certainly, their training was of a type which made them more aware of the impact exerted on students by extra-school environmental factors and the degree to which such factors were integrally related to in-school problems. At the same time many of the supplementary school personnel had forgotten (or never experienced) the myriad number of problems facing every teacher who must deal with children in groups of thirty or thirty-five at a time with little opportunity for preparation or personal counseling. Not having had such experiences, or having forgotten the extent to which they often became all-consuming, they felt quite free to criticize teachers for not being "all things to all people."

Nevertheless, all who were in attendance recognized that if the changes proposed by Mr. Melby were to take place there were numerous implications for the schools and all of the components of those systems.

Initially, note was made of the fact that a different kind of teacher education program must be provided if teachers are ever to be truly capable of working with students "as they are" rather than as we "wish they would be;" that the required diagnostic and remediation skills would necessitate the development of more comprehensive and "professional" training programs for future teachers as well as for those currently in-service. Major emphasis was placed on the need for a better understanding of and improved techniques for working with group dynamics as an educational tool.

It was pointed out that, at present, most people associated with school systems, including those responsible for work with parents and community groups, represent symbols of authority to the people of the community and actually discourage involvement on their part. All agreed that the schools must actively seek out people for these roles who will be capable of working effectively with community personnel.

Special emphasis was placed on the fact that, prior to initiating the type of program recommended by Mr. Melby, we must first reexamine the functions of public education within our society. Conversion from our present emphasis on accumulated knowledge to one which takes into account the processes through which learning takes place will necessitate some fundamental changes in our basic conceptual framework. And, the success or failure of any program involving such massive changes within a relatively conservative institution will depend largely on the extent to which those who must effect those changes are involved in the planning stages in a meaningful way.

WHAT'S
LEGAL?

The conflicts concerning equality of opportunity in the schools can be viewed as a means to better education for all children, according to Mr. Carter. And the only hope of improving the quality of life for our disadvantaged youth is through the medium of improved educational opportunities, a fact of which the urban poor are patently aware. As a result, what actually constitutes a neglected educational problem has now "been transformed into a civil rights issue of major dimensions."

The 1954 Brown decision of the Supreme Court ruled that segregation is destructive to the "minds and hearts" of those who must exist in racial isolation, and *de jure* segregation was specifically found illegal. However, *de facto* segregation is no less injurious and the responsibility for modifying patterns of segregated education, whatever the cause, lies squarely on the shoulders of those responsible for administering our nation's schools.

Thus, *de jure* segregation is clearly illegal; however, the existence of *de facto* segregation, while not yet declared illegal, sets forth for all to see the extent to which our schools have failed to meet their constitutional responsibilities.

The neighborhood school, an artificial construct adhered to by white segregationists and designed to promote segregated schools, when examined closely is found to be indefensible in terms of the demands made upon the schools in our contemporary society.

Already, more progressive states such as California, New Jersey, and New York have passed legislation making illegal the maintenance of segregated schools and requiring that action be taken to reduce the impact of residential segregation on the school-age children.

Attention should also be directed to the fact that education remains a function of the states and, if necessary, the states have the authority to abolish or modify all existing school system boundaries. The implication presented here is that it would be more desirable for the individual school systems, acting in cooperation with one another, to undertake all necessary action in whatever directions are required before the threat of state-wide action appears imminent.

THE LEGAL RESPONSIBILITIES OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS FOR DEALING WITH MINORITY GROUP MEMBERS

Robert L. Carter*

There is an acute and critical crisis of confidence in the public school system in the urban North. It has failed to meet the constitutional and legal obligations imposed on public school authorities of providing equal educational opportunities for the poor, for the disadvantaged and particularly for nonwhites. In our large cities the Negro community is up in arms protesting about the educational deficiencies of the schools Negro children attend, about curriculum, school boards, principals and teachers, about teaching methodology, about racial concentration, about school buildings and facilities---indeed about every ingredient in the educational process that might conceivably have relevance to quality education.

What makes this protest unusual is that only recently school officials were citing Negro parent indifference as an underlying reason for the abysmally low academic showing of schools of Negro concentration. Now, suddenly, school authorities are faced with an over-abundance of parental concern and activity in the Negro community. This has been both surprising and unwelcome in many educational circles, but undoubtedly public education in the United States will benefit.

The widespread belief that Negro parents were not interested in the education of their children is a myth as is much current folklore about black people. Negro parents know that their children are being short-changed educationally, and they know that this means the destruction of their children and of their hopes and dreams. They know the key to breaking the unending cycle of discrimination, poverty and powerlessness which has been the Negro's lot for too long a time is through the educational process. Their own drab lives, misery and disaffection become more bearable if a decent education for their children is insured. A decent education means that their children will have the tools to obtain a decent job; a decent job means economic security which will create attitudes and motivations atypical to the present ghetto pathology of defeat and, hopefully, the cycle of destruction will be broken.

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Most educational authorities will agree that the public schools are not providing equal educational opportunities or, indeed, even adequate education for disadvantaged minority group youngsters. The present dispute is in determining the reasons for the failure and in finding appropriate corrective measures.

It is undoubtedly unfair to place all of the responsibility on the harassed and dedicated educators who have the foreboding task of running public school systems in large communities which are increasingly centers in which underprivileged minority groups are concentrated. Some of the fault must be charged to the gross educational deprivations which Negroes were subjected to in the South. Some certainly must be attributed to background and home environment. Yet for too long educators were blind or indifferent to the evident discrepancies and differentiations in the educational opportunities offered to white and Negro children. When the failures and deficiencies in the educational process as it affects Negroes were perceived, they took comfort in the belief that these stemmed wholly from non-school factors.

While racial prejudice undeniably accounts in part for this neglect, I do not mean to charge public educational authorities with any more racial bias than the general public. The point is they possess as much, and this has meant a general acceptance of lower standards for Negro schools, lower performance levels and lower expectations. Nor do I want to imply that overt prejudice plays a significant role in teacher-pupil relationships. Unfortunately, however, most of us act upon innate prejudices which we are often not even aware of, and however innocent we may be, this can be a most destructive force in the public school system attended by minority group children.

The whole focus of the society has been on confining Negroes to an inferior caste. The assumption has been that Negro children do not need, could not absorb, could not use as much or the quality of education the white child needed. Because these are the assumptions of the society, every conscious and sub-conscious effort has been to make them self-fulfilling.

What happened in the past was to be expected. After all, in a racist society such as ours, one can hardly expect the people who run our public schools to be free of the taint which has infected the whole of American society. As tragic as that fact is, what is even more dangerous for the future is that few public school administrators recognize or are willing to face the fact that many of the concepts, approaches and past failures in the education of Negroes in school systems under their control have resulted in part, at least, from prejudice and the misconceptions which inevitably result.

Now time has run out, and a neglected educational problem has been transformed into a civil rights issue of major dimensions. The controversy is part of the fallout incident to the United States Supreme Court ruling in Brown vs. Board of Education outlawing segregation in the public schools. This decision said that under our Constitution all government-imposed racial barriers are unlawful. Moreover, it spoke to the conscience of the nation to declare all racial barriers, whatever their source, immoral as well. It accorded national citizenship and the right to Negroes as a class to share all the privileges and immunities whites enjoy. It reminded us that the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments had placed an affirmative duty on American society to eradicate all relics, badges and indicia of slavery less the Negro as a race sink back into second-class citizenship.

To Negroes this decision meant that they were entitled to treatment based on constitutional standards and not on the racist pattern of the South; that their children were entitled to equal educational opportunities in both the North and the South; and that the states were required to furnish their children these benefits as long as a public school system was maintained.

When Negro parents took a long look at the public schools in the North, they discovered deprivations there to almost the same extent as those resulting from the outright racial separation and gross differentiations in the South.

In 1955 the New York public school system opened its records for a study by the Public Education Association to settle a dispute between school authorities and civil rights groups as to whether the schools of Negro and Puerto Rican concentration were academically inferior to other schools in the city. The results showed that as determined by standardized achievement test scores, Negro and Puerto Rican schools were one-half year behind the other schools at the fourth grade, one and one-half years behind at the fifth and two to two and one-half years behind at the sixth grade. In 1965 a study was made by HARYOU (Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited) of the central Harlem schools which showed that no improvement or change for the better had been made in the ten-year interval. The Negro and Puerto Rican schools were still from one-half year behind at the fourth grade to two and one-half years behind at the sixth grade. The Coleman report of the United States Office of Equal Educational Opportunity and the United States Civil Rights report on Racial Isolation in the Public Schools reveal this to be typical of the nation's public school systems.

At the same time the impact of technological changes, automation and modernization of industrial methods wiped out seemingly in one fell swoop that vast category of back-breaking work and unskilled labor which school and non-school authorities had consigned to the Negro as his rightful occupation. For years, Negroes had been completing or dropping out of school--it did not seem to make much difference in terms of future prospects--and going on the labor market equipped to perform unskilled work. But increasingly there was less of this kind of work to do, and since the Korean War, despite long periods of national affluence and prosperity, the rate of Negro unemployment has persisted at two and one-half to three times that of whites. Today it is approximately eight per cent to three per cent for whites. And most forebodingly, the unemployment rate for Negro youth has remained at about thirty-five per cent, despite the fact that last summer some two million jobs were made available, but almost all went to white applicants.

With the growing shortage of unskilled labor as a source of gainful employment, an educational philosophy that the Negro was to be the main source of unskilled labor and hence had no need for training in the more difficult skills had suddenly become not only obsolete but dangerous to the well-being of our society. Without gainful employment, trapped in the bleak and squalid desolation of a Harlem or Bedford-Stuyvesant, Negro youth have brooded upon their discontent, their misery and pernicious racial injustice. They have become, as Dr. Conant so aptly termed it, "social dynamite"---a source of disaffection and unrest---a tinder box which if ignited could tear the fabric of our society asunder.

Because of the Negro community's increased manifestations of concern about the education Negro children are receiving and its increasing despair about appropriate corrective action being taken by the educational establishment, public school administrators and the nonwhite community confront one another as bitter antagonists, rather than as partners in the search for quality education. The gulf between the two groups has widened and more bitterness and controversy is threatened for the future.

The Fourteenth Amendment mandates equal educational opportunity for Negro children. That amendment speaks to the states. The states have a real legal responsibility to insure equal educational opportunity for Negro children in the public schools they maintain. Every claimed barrier to vindication of the right to equality of education the United States Supreme Court has declared in case after case must be examined to determine whether the practices, regulations or acts complained of do, in fact, constitute a forbidden deprivation within the meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment's guaranty of equal protection and due process. The issue in Missouri ex rel Gaines vs. Canada was out-of-state scholarship aid to Negroes in lieu of admission to the state university. In Sipuel vs. Board of Regents, it was the failure to make provision for the education of Negro applicants at the same time such provision was made for white students. In McLaurin vs. Oklahoma State Regents, the impact of on-campus segregation on the right to equal educational opportunity was scrutinized. In *Sweatt vs. Painter*, the question faced was whether a separate law school for Negroes was substantially equivalent to the University of Texas Law School. In *Brown vs. Board of Education*, separate but equal elementary and secondary public education was measured against the Constitution's mandate and found wanting. In *Cooper vs. Aaron* and in *Griffin vs. Board of Supervisors*, evasive schemes and subterfuges were evaluated. In *Goss vs. Board of Education*, racial transfers which perpetuated segregation were weighed against the Constitution's command.

In each situation the United States Supreme Court held that deprivation resulted from the practices in dispute. Each of the cases was a step in the development of the reach, scope and content of the constitutional doctrine of equality of educational opportunity. Once struck down, however, the condemned regulation did not delimit the extent of the Fourteenth Amendment's proscription. As was said in a recent case "the Fourteenth Amendment does not cease to operate once the narrow confines of the *Brown*-type situation are exceeded."

The claim, for example, that school attendance and assignment procedures and practices causing *de facto* school segregation are unconstitutional is based on the thesis that the natural consequences of such ethnic concentration denies the Negro child equal educational opportunities within the meaning of the federal law. In *Brown*, enforced racial segregation of Negroes was held unconstitutional despite equal tangible facilities. The Court reached this conclusion because segregation impregnated the Negro child's heart and mind with a sense and a feeling of inferiority, deprived him of motivation and denied him the educational experience which made it possible for him to learn and achieve on the same basis as children in the dominant society. The Negro child's freedom to associate with white children as an essential ingredient of his right to equality of education was said to apply with added force at the elementary and high school levels. Segregation per se was condemned because unequal education was its natural consequence.

Therefore, the legal responsibility which is fastened upon school authorities is both real and pragmatic. In general only arbitrary and capricious acts which deny a child or group of children access to educational facilities afforded others are illegal. Where, however, the educational process permits, fosters or enforces a differentiation which places Negro children at a disadvantage, the public school has failed to meet the responsibility which is imposed by law.

Today, in all but a few school districts, Negro children are denied equal educational opportunities either by assignment procedures, by methods of placement or grouping or through the allocation of resources or by a combination of all three. In short, in all but a few school districts public schools are not meeting their constitutional obligation to Negro children. I speak only of these three general areas because it is clear, I take it, that outright racial segregation, which still exists in much of the South, the use of the gerrymander or other contrivances to maintain racial separation or limit the educational growth of Negro children, and failure to provide the same course or courses of study for Negro children that white children receive constitute undisputed violations of the law's guarantees.

The assignment procedures that are offensive are those pursuant to which school enrollment is determined by residence in furtherance of the so-called neighborhood school policy. This policy has been defended by school authorities, commentators and courts, but its most vociferous support has come from white parent groups engaged in a bitter battle to prevent alleviation of de facto school segregation.

Its virtues have been depicted as fostering informal relations between teachers, pupils and parents. It is said that the neighborhood school becomes the community center for recreational and cultural activity, and its defenders virtuously proclaim that it saves small children from the hardship of long term bussing.

The fallacy of the neighborhood school rationale is that it relies upon factors totally irrelevant to the actualities of modern day life. Small children are probably safer today being driven to school than being subjected to the hazards of street crossings on foot. Population mobility and the automobile have altered the nature of school community relations. Few children have the same schoolmates and playmates throughout the elementary and high school grades. Social contact between the family and school personnel is now minimal and activity in parent-school organizations is no longer dependent upon close proximity to the school.

The neighborhood school is simply not what many of its defenders portray. The attributes they ascribe to the neighborhood school are those of the common school which has long since disappeared. The common school was a single structure serving a heterogeneous community in which children of every racial, cultural, religious and socio-economic background were taught together. Because of rigid racial and socio-economic stratification, ethnic and class similarity have today become the most salient neighborhood characteristic, particularly in urban areas. The neighborhood school which encompasses a homogeneous racial and socio-economic grouping, as is true today, is the very antithesis of the common school heritage.

Both the Coleman report and the report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights have shown that the education of minority group children is affected more by the children with whom they attend school than by any other single factor. Both these reports show that Negro children who attend all Negro schools make the poorest showing on the scale of academic achievement. Negro children grouped with white children of a low socio-economic group do better and achievement scores rise higher when Negro children are grouped with white children of a high socio-economic status.

Many educators, such as Dr. James E. Allen, the Commissioner of Education of New York, for example, recognize that the isolation or segregation of minority children for school purposes deprives them of opportunities for educational development and advancement which would be possible if they were educated with children of the dominant group. Thus, _de facto_ school segregation resulting from the neighborhood school policy raises the question as to whether assignment procedures which produce concentrations of Negro children in schools separate and apart from white children deny to Negro children equality of educational opportunity which the Fourteenth Amendment guarantees.

The courts are divided on the question. The majority of the federal courts have taken the view that such assignment procedures in the absence of a showing of improper motivation do not impinge upon constitutional guarantees. A number of state courts (and, indeed, it is the law of New York, California, and New Jersey) and a minority of federal courts hold that there is an obligation on the part of school authorities to avoid assignment procedures which result in the concentration of Negroes and white children in schools that are separate and apart. Until now the United States Supreme Court has refused to settle the question. It has let stand decisions which have held _de facto_ school segregation valid and those that have held it invalid.

The tentative conclusions of the Coleman report and the explicit findings of the United States Commission on Civil Rights support the view that Negro children do not and cannot obtain equal educational opportunities when their educational experience is restricted to schools that are in effect and in fact segregated from those attended by the dominant group. Those who argue for the _status quo_ in _de facto_ school segregation situations are now on the defensive in the light of these reports.

It is likely that the courts will be pressed eventually to establish in at least some limited form the right of Negro children to require _de facto_ school segregation to be eliminated and alleviated to whatever extent this can be accomplished without obstruction of sound educational procedures. I do not suggest that I anticipate the general outlawing of the neighborhood school policy but only its modification so as to achieve some feasible and rational form of school administration which will be more relevant to the objective of providing Negro children with quality education. What may be required will depend upon how feasible changes can be effectuated without disruption of the educational process. In short, the courts may come to hold that where school administrators have a choice, they must opt for those assignment procedures which reduce racial concentration to the lowest practicable level.

The contention that our goal should be integrated education is being ridiculed in some quarters on the grounds that this is somehow an insult to Negroes' intelligence, pride and dignity. It is said to be a suggestion that the Negro child's learning apparatus is magically transformed by having a white child sit in the classroom with him. This, of course, is an absurdity. The underlying reason that Negro children up to now, at least, have been deprived of educational equality by their isolation is simply that they have been denied full access to the mainstream of education, but the standards by which they will be judged are mainstream standards.

I would hope that school authorities will voluntarily take the lead in undertaking affirmative efforts in their school districts to eliminate as much de facto school segregation as possible. They should spearhead efforts to provide Negro children with quality education and not seem to be unwilling to move unless pressured to do so.

Negro children are also being denied equal educational opportunities in some school districts by the way in which they are placed or grouped within the school. In some schools the placement procedure results in Negro and white children being assigned to separate classrooms. There is a controversy in educational circles over the value of homogeneous or hetrogeneous grouping for instructional purposes. I believe most educators discount the educational value of homogeneous grouping in the early grades, but some school systems institute the practice at a very early stage in the elementary school. At whatever stage it is instituted, the result is the classroom segregation of the vast majority of Negro children.

The Coleman and United States Commission on Civil Rights reports indicate that this kind of classroom assignment procedure deprives Negro children of their right to equal educational opportunity. As the isolation of Negro children in schools separate and apart denies educational equality, so the classroom assignment procedures which result in concentration of Negro children in classrooms separate and apart from white children would seem to violate the law. This procedure is presently under attack in a law suit pending in Washington, D. C.

Finally, there is the overall issue as to the allocation of resources.

Unquestionably our public school systems are not meeting their obligations to Negro children in this regard. Until recently the older school buildings and inferior physical plants were indigeneous features of the ghetto school; teacher-pupil ratio was usually high as was a higher number of less qualified teachers. The Coleman report revealed that the disparity which exists in those physical facilities shows some relationship to achievement. Science laboratories showed such a relationship and minority groups, but most "especially Negroes, were found to be in schools with fewer of these laboratories." Dr. Patricia Sexton in her study Education and Income, published in 1961, found that in one large city 47 per cent of the schools attended by children whose parents earned less than $7,000 per year had substandard science facilities or none at all. On the other hand, only 2 per cent of the schools attended by children whose parents' earnings exceeded $7,000 per year had no such facilities.

Although the Coleman report showed no great disparity on the whole between the schools of Negro concentration and those for white children in teacher training and experience, those disparities which did exist consistently favored the white pupil. A New York City survey published two years ago revealed that in one-half of the junior high schools in which pupil enrollment was 90 per cent or more white, 65 per cent or more of the teachers held a permanent license. On the other hand, in not a single junior high school in which the pupil enrollment was 90 per cent or more nonwhite did 65 per cent or more teachers have a permanent license. No junior high school attended by 90 per cent or more white students had less than 35 per cent of its teachers with a permanent license, but 11 per cent of the junior high schools attended by 90 per cent or more Negro pupils had less than 35 per cent of its teachers with a permanent license.

Harold Howe, United States Commissioner of Education, was reported in the January 11, 1967, issue of the New York Times as saying that in New York State school districts the per capita pupil expenditure range was seven times greater between the highest and lowest and that this was typical of every state in the Union. He concluded that this means "the quality of a youngster's education will depend largely on the place of his birth or residence, matters over which he has no control."

Schools have been financed largely through property tax levies made by the local government. What this has meant is that as the more affluent whites move to the suburbs and Negroes and other low income groups move to the core city, the city is faced with a declining tax base, rising welfare costs and other public services. It is at a great disadvantage in its efforts to maintain excellence in the public school system.

For many years the whole focus of public education has been on bringing quality education to the rural school. The time has come for educators to reexamine that policy. Commissioner Allen has suggested, and I agree with him, that the educational establishment must change its objectives; it must now focus its attention on bringing quality education to the ghetto schools. With increased urbanization of our population, what was formerly the rural school has now become a part of the affluent white suburbia.

As we have seen, the equal educational opportunity requirements of our Constitution speak to the states. School districts are an artificial means of administering and allocating state educational resources. The state certainly cannot be said to be meeting the requirement that it affords Negro children equal educational opportunities where, in the allocation of its resources, far greater per capita expenditures are being made in the affluent suburban schools than in the poor core city schools where the need is greatest. We now know that educational resources, while not as vital to achievement and motivation as are the aspirations and expectations of other children in the classroom, do have some effect on the education of minority group children.

All public school systems are subject to attack in this area, and indeed a wholesale reexamination must be made of methods of school financing which are weighted in favor of school districts with affluent white children and school districting pursuant to which district lines are drawn to separate whites from nonwhites, the affluent from the disadvantaged; all of which represent policies that place minority group children at a disadvantage in the allocation of teachers and facilities.

It is a popular pastime today to discount desegregation efforts in metropolitan schools because the entire school enrollment is becoming predominantly nonwhite. What is forgotten, or perhaps not understood, is that the lines separating the predominantly Negro core city from the surrounding predominantly white suburban school district were drawn by the state. Similarly, these lines may be altered, erased, districts merged or eliminated by the state. And if the separation of school districts interferes with the state's legal obligation to accord educational equality to Negroes, it may be required to reorganize school districts in a manner consistent with its constitutional requirements.

Attack on allocation of resources has probably been deterred by conflict in civil rights circles. To many advocates of integration, this seemed to be akin to acceptance of separate but equal. Today there is a strong current in the Negro community to seek to raise the standard of education in the schools of Negro concentration. The integrationists, on the other hand, have come to understand that there is no inconsistency between an objective to seek academic improvement in the schools attended largely by Negro pupils, while pressing to eliminate de facto school segregation altogether. Indeed, this is perhaps the only realistic way the problem of attempting to accord equality of education to Negro children can be undertaken.

The public school must provide quality education for all persons without distinctions based on race, color or class. The means to achieve this should be accorded top priority by our educators. Our public schools must perform for our nonwhite minorities what they managed so well for the white newcomer to our shores. It must equip them with the skills to acquire sufficient economic viability to enable them to move upward on the socio-economic scale and take their place in the mainstream of American life.

As difficult as is our present era, it offers a unique opportunity to the nation to view the Negro's persistent denial of full citizenship in all of its dimensions and thereby perhaps gain the wisdom to resolve the race question once and for all.

Brown vs. Board of Education reminds us that all of our institutions must make necessary adjustments and reforms to provide and insure equality of opportunity for all our people. Our technological advances mean that if our society is to survive, every child must have the opportunity for a decent education. Our educators must eschew dogma and "can't" and find the means to provide the best education conceivable to the underprivileged. They must reexamine, modify, adjust, change and discard educational practices until they find those that work. If they do this, they will find the way to equip the public school to meet its responsibilities to disadvantaged minority group children, and in achieving this objective, they will be a part of one of the most glorious chapters in American education.

I hope you agree with me that it is well worth the effort.

Participants' Reactions to
Presentation by Mr. Robert L. Carter

There appeared to be general agreement that the current conflict surrounding the concept of the "neighborhood school" tends to diminish the emphasis which should be focused on the real issues at hand. The real question to be asked is "What are the objectives of the institution and what administrative structure will facilitate attainment of those objectives? Then, the kinds of schools developed, and the types of student populations assigned to those buildings can be determined in terms of those objectives.

There was a great deal of ambivalance regarding the role of state-level agencies (the state departments of public instruction and the state legislatures) in promoting equality of education for all students. There was consensus that the local school districts appear both unwilling and, possibly, unable to undertake the function of providing "quality" education for the disadvantaged but the participants were, nevertheless, not enthusiastic at the prospect that enabling legislation might be initiated at the state level.

A number of the discussion groups centered much of their efforts around the consideration of factors relating to the development of metropolitan school systems and the more equitable distribution of resources within the areas encompassed in those districts. Most felt that the trend toward metropolitan school systems had begun and that they will eventually become quite common. However, the general opinion was that this development would come only after conditions within and outside of the school systems created pressures to make escape from such an organizational pattern an impossibility.

Participants in some groups pointed out the problems of modifying existing patterns of discrimination, many of which have been built into our societal structure over a period of many years. Surprisingly, these same people felt that the recent legislation pertaining to civil rights, and others which have yet to be enacted, can forceably create a climate in which the possibilities of attitudinal change on the part of the middle-class population is considerably more likely. They pointed out that failure to pass and enforce such legislation will only serve to reinforce the status quo, a condition which cannot be permitted to occur.

A focus on grouping practices within the schools led to the conclusion that educators have, through their use, made such practices an integral and acceptable part of the educational scene with little or no research to support their activities. Participants pointed out that conditions within the schools have undergone a great deal of change since those grouping practices were initiated and the consequences which today are a direct result of grouping procedures were not predicted at the time they were put into use. As was pointed out, we must be ever aware of the fact that our administrative procedures are useful and justifiable only as long as they continue to facilitate attainment of our over-all educational objectives. When the point is reached at which it is evident that operating procedures no longer facilitate goal attainment, as is evident today with regard to current grouping practices, then those activities must be reexamined in light of new conditions.

Individual participants within a number of the discussion groups placed major emphasis on meeting our "professional responsibilities" with regard to improving the quality of education for all people, a concept which Carter also emphasized. These individuals expounded on the obvious and inescapable conclusion that educators have a definite responsibility to provide the finest quality of education for all students at all times, and that failure to do so until such action is required by the courts constitutes a clear-cut case of dereliction of duty.

WHAT'S THE GOAL?

There is, states Mr. Tanner, little doubt that teachers of the disadvantaged (and, perhaps, all teachers) must actively engage themselves in a process of continued learning after completing their Bachelor's degree if they are to adequately meet their professional commitments. He points out the obviousness of the fact that undergraduate training programs, as they presently exist, do little or nothing in a positive approach toward preparing teachers of the disadvantaged and probably actually serve to deter some capable students from becoming teachers in our inner city schools.

At the outset he lists a number of characteristics which seemingly describe adequate teachers of the disadvantaged. These points appear to focus around the following areas: 1) they must be personally secure; 2) they must be professionally oriented, trained, and committed; 3) they must possess a sound philosophical base from which to operate; 4) and they must be highly flexible. It is apparent that these represent traits which it is hoped would be evident in all teachers.

Prior to the initiation of any such in-service programs the teachers themselves must examine their own role and determine those areas which can most fruitfully be dealt with through in-service training programs. Implied here is that any form of in-service training must be viewed as critically important to those being "trained" if the program is to be accepted by them and have any effect upon their behavior.

Mr. Tanner also emphasizes the importance of establishing realistic goals prior to beginning the program. Although not stated, this clearly infers that the stated objectives should serve as bases for evaluation, particularly in terms of teacher and pupil behavior.

Stress is placed by Mr. Tanner on in-service programs that are task-oriented rather than those in which the "trainees" play a passive role; implicit in this approach is the concept that "we learn by doing," an approach used extensively and somewhat successfully in the normal school curriculum provided for the children.

IN-SERVICE TRAINING FOR TEACHERS OF THE DISADVANTAGED

James R. Tanner*

The field of teacher education and training for service in schools enrolling disadvantaged children has been receiving as much attention in recent years as practically any other area of educational concern--and more than most.

Since our discovery of disadvantagement a few years ago most self-respecting teacher training institutions have held at least one conference or sent at least one team of professors to observe the phenomenon of poor children and their teachers struggling against over-whelming odds in the business of teaching and learning.

All the professional and scholarly associations have had at least one session at each recent convention devoted to a study of the disadvantaged.

The publishers have been having a field day grinding out great volumes of "stuff" purported to be the new light on teaching disadvantaged children. (A very large amount of this stuff is probably more accurately classifiable as junk.)

But my assignment today is not to deliver my judgments aimed at any of those targets.

Our concern today is related not to a generalized discussion of the preparation of teachers for work with disadvantaged children and youth. It is rather focused upon the teacher who has been accepted for service, who has completed the requirements for licensing or certification, usually the Bachelor's degree.

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*Mr. Tanner is presently Assistant Superintendent of the Cleveland (Ohio) Public Schools, and for many years has been intimately involved with efforts to improve educational opportunities available to minority youth.

In this sense, then, we distinguish the in-service development of teachers from their pre-service preparation.

The professional career development of a teacher is or should be, of course, properly a continuum starting at the point of entry into the college or university program at the undergraduate level and continuing for as long as the person remains in the profession.

The division of this career development between pre-service and in-service and frequently the cessation of planned development at the point of initial certification is unfortunate, to state it charitably, or indefensible, to state it more bluntly.

However, there are now serving in our schools thousands of teachers who desperately need help. Besides, there is not likely soon to be a very widespread change in the pattern of teacher career development.

It is important, then, to consider how best we may increase the effectiveness of the teachers presently employed.

The teacher of the disadvantaged is particularly handicapped, for almost nothing in his pre-service development was aimed at preparing him for his current task. As a matter of fact, there was probably much in his preparation that discouraged his even considering the possibility that successful teaching could take place under circumstances of environmental disadvantagement.

Two basic considerations underlie our discussion of in-service training for teachers of the disadvantaged.

1. The development, refinement and improvement of teaching skill and effectiveness occur mostly after the teacher has been employed.

2. In any attempt to improve school opportunity for the disadvantaged the role of the teacher is a high priority, if not the single most crucial element.

In-service training is, of course, not a recent development. As long as there have been supervisors, there has been in-service training. As long as some school systems have required teachers to complete certain courses for attaining tenure or salary advancement, there has been in-service training. As long as new teachers have sought advice from more experienced colleagues, there has been in-service training.

Since teachers began to subscribe to, and hopefully read, professional magazines and other materials, there has been in-service training. Since the first faculty meeting that a principal arranged, teachers have been exposed to efforts at in-service training.

Some school systems have developed rather extensive programs of training and development for members of their staffs---many formally structured with provision for orderly movement. Some of the activities are worth "brownie" points. Others result in salary increments. All of them probably are perceived by their organizers as useful, productive ways to improve the effectiveness of teachers. There, of course, is no disagreement with that goal.

Presumably all the teacher's in-service experiences contribute to his professional development. Training, however, represents deliberate, probably discreet activities directed to the goal of improved behavior.

If we could choose with discrimination from among the available teacher candidates, and if we could safely assume that these candidates had been equipped in their pre-service preparation with an adequate base of sound scholarship (I realize that neither of these may be a defensible assumption) the in-service development of teachers would be in the nature of continuing education and, to a great extent, developing specialized competencies.

It seems to me that all in-service training programs should be aimed at helping and encouraging the teacher to become not only more proficient in his subject matter, but also, and of no lesser importance, more perceptive and effective in making the subject matter relevant to the pupils who are his current clientele.

More particularly planners of in-service programs for teachers of the disadvantaged should recognize 1) the urgency of bridging the cultural as well as the generation gap between teachers and their pupils and 2) the importance of helping teachers to develop understanding and accepting attitudes toward their pupils.

It has been frequently pointed out that in any attempt to improve school opportunity for the disadvantaged the role of the teacher is certainly one of the most crucial elements. The rather large sum of Title I ESEA funds that have been used for in-service training of one sort of another demonstrates the importance which school administrators and program planners attach to the role of the teacher.

Furthermore, it is generally held that effective teachers of disadvantaged children and youth require special competencies and insights which will enable them to function effectively.

It seems to me that such teachers--those who get results--whose disadvantaged pupils achieve well--possess most, if not all of the following characteristics. The behavioral implications of these characteristics should be obvious.

1. Personally well organized, patient, tactful, stable, consistent.

2. Understands himself, his strengths, his abilities, his cultural allegiances.

3. Professionally committed--has a better than average desire to grow professionally.

4. Respects people, their right to be different.

5. Has a sincere belief in the teachability of all children.

6. Has a commitment to and an understanding of his subject matter specialty--its significance in proper perspective, its development, its content, its structure, its methodology.

7. Wants to make his subject matter relevant to his pupils.

8. Possesses working knowledge of human development--physical, mental, emotional.

9. Is skillful in applying techniques of diagnosing pupil academic needs (or can interpret assessment results, including health and personality data) as a basis for action.

10. Is sensitive to and understands factors in home, school and community environment which affect school adjustment and progress.

11. Has a reservoir of varied teaching techniques and methods.

12. Can communicate effectively without affectation.

13. Believes in and is willing to follow democratic processes.

14. Is open to change (adaptable, flexible).

While there certainly should be specificity of objectives in a school system depending upon local circumstances and needs, it seems to me that there are certain common objectives to which any program of in-service training and development for teachers working in depressed areas should be directed:

1. Arousing teachers' concern for improving human relations;

2. Equipping them with the necessary insights and skills for the development of sound interpersonal relations throughout the school;
3. Developing their understanding of successful approaches in dealing with problem areas such as discipline;
4. Assisting them in acquiring skills for communicating effectively and satisfactorily with parents;
5. Providing an opportunity for them to become familiar with the purposes and programs of community agencies and resources;
6. Providing instruction for them in techniques helpful in identifying pupils' academic deficiencies and implementing corrective plans;
7. Offering an avenue through which the special talents of individual teachers might be channeled to have impact upon wider groups of the teaching staff and indirectly upon wider groups of pupils;
8. Deepening their awareness of and appreciation for the Civil Rights Movement and the emerging assertiveness of the "poor";
9. Making available opportunities for their continuing scholarly growth both as to the expanding content of their special fields and their relevancy to differing groups of pupils.

With respect to the organization and the structure of an in-service program for teachers of the disadvantaged, there have been many recommendations from a number of sources.

The Project Aware Study of 1965, for example, offered several recommendations in a summary of the results of a questionnaire to which about 70 school administrators responsible for in-service programs in their systems responded.

Among these recommendations are the following:

1. Expansion of staff for in-service leadership;
2. Concentration on persons at supervisory and administrative levels ("train the trainers");

3. More effective liaison with institutions of higher education;
4. Examination of promising practices in other school systems;
5. Emphasis on use of improved and more relevant materials and equipment;
6. Provision for evaluation;
7. More adequate financing of in-service programs.

I find myself agreeing with these recommendations. However, I would suggest that there are a few additions needed. Among these are the following;

1. Focus on real issues; issues and concerns that are important and meaningful to the potential participants. It is particularly essential that in the early development of the program teachers identify their perceived needs for in-service assistance. It is, of course, no less vital that programmatic emphasis be directed obviously and clearly to meeting those needs;
2. The in-service training program must have the full and continuing support of the highest level of school administration;
3. The in-service program should be organized by the school system and, wherever possible, its activities conducted by local staff members--teachers, supervisors, administrators, other specialists within the school system;
4. There should be clearly defined goals and the kinds of activities provided should be appropriate for the purposes intended. University-type courses,

with lectures and reading, while probably the simplest type to organize and operate, should give way to task and goal oriented work activities;

5. Opportunities should be made available, under carefully arranged circumstances, for informal community and home contacts. Such contacts must be purposeful activities, not trips to the zoo. The importance of adequate preparation for such experiences cannot be overemphasized. Another essential aspect of the community study is authoritative interpretation--which can be provided by a number of sources, including the university based specialist, the community organization worker, clergymen, social workers, other school staff members and the newly discovered "indigeneous population."

In recent years the easier availability of private foundation money and of government funds has resulted in the proliferation of courses, seminars, conferences, symposia, institutes and even nonconferences.

The Great Cities Projects almost all had some component whose purpose was to improve the performance of teachers of the disadvantaged.

Since about 1964 several millions of dollars of federal funds have been expended in institutes and other activities for teachers of the disadvantaged designed to improve the effectiveness of these teachers.

The many government funded institutes for teachers of the disadvantaged have made attempts to retread or to advance teachers and other professionals in education. With the availability of substantial sums of money under Title I of The ESEA, school systems have been rushing about establishing their own projects for the in-service improvement of their teachers of the disadvantaged.

If one accepts the evaluation by sponsors of such institutes and projects, most of them have been eminently successful in making teachers more creative, more resourceful, more scholarly, more compassionate, more perceptive and more just-about-anything-else that the sponsor had predicted as the outcome of his program.

The major emphasis in most of these efforts has been upon helping participants to "understand" the disadvantaged child in the belief that such "understanding" would facilitate teaching-learning. Not many souls have been saved, though.

One very inviting temptation to a school administrator in discussing in-service teacher training or almost any other aspect of school operation is the passing out of recipes, usually tested, though not necessarily proved ways of doing something with which he feels comfortable.

The main danger in that approach, appealing as it may be, is the possibility of encouraging replication without due consideration of local circumstances.

Let's try to avoid that easy path and, instead of passing out a cook book, let's examine some examples of in-service training activities which may have relevance depending upon local circumstances.

In both school systems and collegiate institutions we have been trying to follow the format of the university graduate course. The inadequacy of this approach is obvious. Some of the promising ways in which appropriate in-service training for teachers of the disadvantaged might be conducted including the following:

1. Curriculum study and construction through committees;
2. The case study;
3. The provision of helping teachers or co-teachers or demonstration teachers or persons of whatever other name such a supporting colleague may be called;
4. Opportunities for directed observation and service in community welfare agencies;
5. Planned visitations to other classes, other schools and other systems having similar needs;
6. Supportive and sensitive supervision;
7. Released time provision for attending relevant university courses;
8. Specialized human relations training including, of course, training in perception;

Please note that I did not include conventions.

It seems to me that we in education are coming of age insofar as the attention that we are now devoting to the preparation of our personnel, both pre-service and in-service is concerned. We are certainly not at the stage yet where we can assert with assurance that there is a way to train or to educate teachers for the disadvantaged or for the non-disadvantaged. However, there are some hopeful signs.

Among these are:

1. The growing dissatisfaction with our present efforts;
2. The emerging search for relevancy in education generally and in teacher preparation in particular;
3. The growing partnership and cooperation among agencies of government, school systems, and the higher education establishment;
4. The increasing availability of funds for teacher education.

I should like to call particular attention to the Education Professions

Development legislation, which offers hope of bringing needed clarity to the role of the Federal Government in this field.

There are a number of crucial areas to which attention must be directed if teachers are to be maximally effective in dealing with disadvantaged children.

Four of these to which I would certainly assign the highest priority are:

1. The teacher's role in the effective use and development of auxiliary personnel;
2. The impact and the expanding possibilities from advancing technology;
3. More appropriate and realistic approaches in the evaluation of pupil progress--a breaking away from the mysticism and mythodology that surrounds and beclouds testing and measurement and reporting;
4. The role of the teacher in the development and maintenance of effective school-community relations.

I thought this morning as I listened to Dean Melby and his call for attention to "be how" as well as "know now" in teaching and schools, that our greatest task seems to be finding ways through which we can help teachers of the disadvantaged to move from indifference to concern, from disdain to respect, from sympathy to empathy in dealing with their pupils and the communities in which they serve.

Most of us here work in urban areas. Most of our cities are engaged in renewal projects of some magnitude. It seems to me that as we consider the role of schools in the human renewal process we would do well to contemplate the poet's advice --

We are blind until we see
That is the human plan
Nothing is worth the making
If it does not make the man.

Why build these cities glorious,
If man unbuilded goes?
In vain we build the work
Unless the builder also grows.

Participants' Reactions to Presentation by Mr. James R. Tanner

A number of the participants indicated that the trend toward use of para-professionals in the schools could be blended with the need for more in-service training on the part of the regular teaching staff. To this end, teachers could be released from their classes for predetermined periods of time to engage in such training and the para-professionals could handle their classes during this period of time. This would, to a large extent, also meet the demands of those participants who insisted that, while there is a definite need for increased in-service training, provisions must be made to insure that they take place during the school day rather than in the late afternoon or evening. There was considerable resistance to the idea that meetings ought to be held outside the normal school day.

At least one teacher stated that new teachers should be given in-service credit for improving their teaching as a result of cooperative efforts with the subject matter supervisors. A plan of this nature, it was felt, would place major emphasis on the essence of the problem---teaching and learning.

Numerous teachers expressed their concerns about the immediate need for development of systematic procedures for changing attitudes of teachers. Such attitudes as do presently exist, in the opinions of the teachers, serve as a detrimental influence on the children.

There seemed to be agreement that the in-service program must be a systematic long-range affair. The feeling was that a well-developed in-service program must deal with all the major problem areas perceived by teachers and that involvement in the program should be required of all teachers.

Means of developing a better understanding of individual teachers must be sought out by those responsible for teacher placement. At present, many teachers are assigned to schools (particularly in the urban centers) in which they are destined to failure, while others who might be highly competent in such situations are assigned elsewhere.

Many felt that the school systems have yet to recognize their obligation to provide extensive in-service training for all teachers. This obligation, it was stated, must be fulfilled if teachers are ever to serve as effective instruments for helping children to live and learn.

A considerable part of any in-service training program must stress the nature of the community surrounding the school and an intensive study of that area directed toward a realistic understanding and appraisal of that community which would, hopefully, compensate for a lack of such training within existing pre-service programs.

More effective means of evaluating teacher effectiveness must be sought. Many of our present instruments are quite crude and little evidence exists in defense of their validity or reliability. Newer instruments, which sample a broader range of teacher behaviors, should be developed and utilized.

A few participants felt that there was an over-emphasis on "re-training" teachers of the disadvantaged. They set forth the opinion that school systems need to invest greater resources in improving the competency of all teachers. In fact, some expressed the point of view that a "good" teacher could teach all children competent to attend public school and that "good" teachers of the disadvantaged were merely "good" teachers.

It is interesting to note that no member of any of the groups set forth any thoughts regarding teachers' responsibility for insuring that their professional education continued after receipt of an initial degree. None indicated any feeling that a professional person has a moral obligation to his clients and to himself to insure that his ability to deal with those problems which confront him is enhanced through study on an organized or individual basis.

And, only one participant entertained the possibility of hiring teachers on a twelve month basis in the future (one month of which would be vacation) and requiring that all teachers participate in extensive and intensive in-service training programs during the two additional months. It was felt that this approach would serve a number of functions: 1) teachers' salaries would be improved and this would eliminate the need for teachers to spend time during the Spring months seeking summer employment; 2) the increased salaries would attract more and brighter students into the teaching profession; and 3) the end result would be a cadre of better trained teachers.

THE "WHY"
OF BEHAVIOR!

Mr. Wattenberg's remarks appear to center on three topics---the first relates to the caution which must be exercised when attempting to categorize the behaviors of disadvantaged students, the second is an examination of those patterns of behavior which appear peculiar to the disadvantaged, and the third describes the implications of those behavioral patterns for the schools.

Educators dealing with groups of disadvantaged are cautioned to avoid stereotyping those who live under varying degrees of economic and cultural deprivation; that deviancy is as common among middle-class children as among lower-class children, although there appear to be differentials regarding the nature which the deviancy takes. Another factor calling for extreme care on the part of those who deal with the disadvantaged focuses on the extent to which some of the children may be brain damaged. Studies have shown that there is a considerably greater amount of brain-damaged children among youth from the lower socio-economic class and this condition, often not apparent to the educator, necessitates a different type of education for the children so afflicted. The third caution is expressed in the form of a reminder that to the extent that the deviancy patterns of disadvantaged youth differ from those of the middle class, to that extent must we also seek out patterns of remediation different from those which we commonly utilize when dealing with those problems of which we have a better understanding.

As was so clearly described by Mr. Wattenberg, the nature of the deviancy which occurs among disadvantaged youths differs from that commonly associated with middle-class youths particularly with regard to its blatancy and aggressiveness. His analysis of the causes of these peculiarities is both insightful and illuminating.

Finally, through examples and an analysis of related variables, the differential nature of the remediation process required in therapeutic work with disadvantaged students is presented. In particular, we are shown that, to a considerable extent, our preconceived notions of how children "should" act seriously impairs the possibility of our being successful when dealing with these students. Our preconceptions have a habit of becoming "realities," largely through our own efforts.

It is especially interesting to note that the highest concentrations of deviancy studied by Mr. Wattenberg appeared in those schools in which the principals and staffs had "given up" and exhibited extremely low levels of morale. It is apparent from the presentation that, as much as any other factor, a true sense of commitment to helping those burdened with the problem of disadvantagement is needed if any degree of success is to be attained.

DEVIANCY AND THE DISADVANTAGED

William W. Wattenberg*

The topic for discussion today revolves around two major questions. Are there patterns of social deviancy which are peculiar to children from disadvantaged backgrounds? If so, what do these imply for the programs of our schools and our social agencies?

Before dealing with these questions we must raise two cautions. The first is to recognize that there is great danger of stereotyped thinking in much sociological material which deals with the populations which suffer from economic disadvantagement. The clear fact is that these populations are quite heterogeneous. Among them one can find all modes of behavior, from adherence to the most middle class standards of conduct on one hand to wildly impulsive, sensation-sating behavior on the other. But, then, a similar range can be seen in upper-class suburbs. What is true is that there are differences in the volume, the frequency with which one encounters given patterns. Some writers and some speakers create a false impression when they say without qualification that "The disadvantaged have little sense of the future," for example, or that "Disadvantaged children accept violence."

The second caution is that deviant behavior is by no means the prerogative of "the disadvantaged." There are some forms which are more frequent among the children of affluence. One example may suffice. In our area we became aware of the fact that the police had found evidence strong enough to support arrest and conviction for marihuana sales rings in the high schools of the two wealthiest suburbs in our area. Somewhat after that, strong evidence was found in three high schools in Detroit which have very high proportions of well-to-do children in their student bodies. A few weeks later, police again found evidence in another suburb. The mayor of that one piously announced that the marihuana was coming in from Detroit, and especially its inner city. In cold fact there had been thorough undercover investigations in several of the inner-city high schools. Those schools were "clean" of what at that point in time was a form of illegal activity which had predominantly middle-class practitioners. Years ago, in a study of auto theft, James Balistrieri and I found that offense, an undeniably criminal one, was proportionately higher among white youth than among Negro youth; and had higher incidence in young people whose ancestry traced back to Western Europe than to either Eastern or Southern Europe.

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*Mr. Wattenberg is currently involved in an unusual capacity---although a Professor of Educational Psychology at Wayne State University, an unusual arrangement has been effected enabling the Detroit Public Schools to contract for the major portion of his time to serve as Assistant Superintendent for the Division of Child Accounting and Adjustment.

The reason for stressing these two cautions is that, unless we do so, we can unintentionally libel large groups in the general population. We do want to devote most of our attention to types of deviancy which indeed are much more common in disadvantaged groups. But, the nature of the problem must be seen in its larger context, and not be used to buttress the prejudices which traditionally have sought to alibi the very discrimination which results in the disadvantages.

Let us begin, then, with a few facts concerning the ways in which economic disadvantagement is linked to certain clear-cut causes of social deviancy and examine what each implies for the work of our several youth-serving agencies. One fact which it is often difficult to assimilate because of its pessimistic impact is that there is a definite connection between the socio-economic class of a pregnant woman and the odds that her child will be born with various degrees of brain damage. This fact, demonstrated with heart-rendingly accurate statistics in Pasamanick's follow-up of Baltimore Hospital records, seems traceable to two factors. Due to poor nutrition and due to toxemias linked to inadequate pre-natal care, the fetus has not had too good a chance to develop with full normality. This shows itself in a higher proportion of still-born children, a higher proportion who are severely retarded, a higher proportion who have explosive behavior characteristics, and a higher proportion with reading disabilities of neurological origin.

As many in this audience know, brain damage and neurological impairment are not conditions which we know how to correct at the present time. To some extent, the behavioral manifestations may be limited by medication. The victims may respond better to instruction in structured classes and if protected from over-stimulation.

However, many of the boys and girls get caught up in a vicious cycle which pushes them toward more and more deviant behavior to the point where they may be labeled "acting-out aggressive youngsters". When subjected to even moderate frustrations they may react with rage. The first manifestations of this may be threatening to parents. Among families in the lower socio-economic groups, parental discipline is often aroused by disobedience and is frequently very direct. The angry reactions of the boy or girl draws retaliation which leads to further outbursts. The parent-child relationship is poisoned. When we see it years later after the youngster has reached school we speak of "maternal rejection" as being responsible for the child's "anti-social" conduct. But, it does not yield to casework or one-to-one therapy.

There is unquestionably a class differential in what happens to an acting-out, possibly brain-damaged child. If he is born into a middle-class home, there is a good chance that even before he has reached school the family has consulted several doctors. There is a possibility that he will have been given a neurological examination and placed on medication. There is even a possibility he may have been placed in one of the rare schools which specializes in working with this type of problem. Recently I read through samples of folders in our Psychological Clinic on children who had been placed in classes for mentally retarded children. The folders from middle-class schools were bulging with material contributed by the family and by the physicians they had consulted!

Not so with the folders from inner-city schools! What happens to those children? If the families are really marginal they get medical care not from a single physician but from whoever is on duty when they turn up at a clinic. There is small probability that they will have been the subject of complicated work-ups. When the child appears in school, his propensity for fighting and for direct action is all too likely to be attributed either to the fact he lives in an environment which expects physical action or that his parents have made known the fact they consider him bad and have dealt harshly with him. We are prone to accept either a sociological or psychological explanation for his behavior patterns. By doing so, we may deny him the program which would be set in motion had we looked for the physical factors.

There is another sequel to this which frankly frightens me even more. Today we are seeing something very laudable--into the disadvantaged areas there has been a small influx of principled people who have volunteered to work with the disadvantaged. They too encounter the type of young person about whom we have been speaking. They are likely to try to befriend, to try to teach, and to use the many arts of person-to-person communication. But, if brain damage or neurological impairment is in the picture, their efforts may go unrewarded. The less saintly among them may then come to the conclusion, after a dramatic "failure," that "those people cannot be helped."

What is the moral? We must bring to our disadvantaged children the same resources in diagnostic thoroughness we bring to the best schools and the best communities. We cannot allow ourselves to be lulled into slipshod ways by the fact that the total number of children who need study may reach impossibly massive proportions.

Now, let us turn to a very contrasting type of deviant behavior by youth. Many boys and girls who grow up in the urban disadvantaged areas face a very cruel set of facts as they approach the final years of their formal education. They know and we have told them that the real opportunities in this highly technical world of ours are dependent upon the possession of knowledge and complex skills. They realize, as their report cards and their achievement test grades attest, that we have not been able to bring them to the required levels. Parenthetically, let me state that we lack much of the knowledge we ought to have as a profession if we were to turn many of today's losers into winners; it is not through negligence or bad intentions that we cannot yet do what many of us wish we could do. Whatever the reason, many of them will feel cheated. To them, looking for someone to blame, there may be a tendency to fix upon some tangible villain--the principal of the school, for example. Then, we find ourselves confronting one or another form of more or less organized protest--a series of demonstrations, a boycott, a riot. That such events occur is certainly understandable. And, when they occur far from us, in Los Angeles or New York, we can see the deviancy in perspective. We can even recognize that protest is healthier than apathy, and we can see that a shocked community is more likely to be serious about improving education than it was when complacent. But, if the protest is in our own city, then we often know the persons chosen to be target for the complaint; they may be rather nice, well-meaning people. The accusations are often personally unfair; and the principal actors "on the other side" may wear beards and have a history of irritating behavior.

What do we do about this type of "deviancy?" Adept administrators usually know how to blunt the thrust of protest by involving the main actors in long drawn-out studies of conditions. This should truly be much more than a neat gambit. The fact is that even though we cannot yet find ways of insuring all children, despite their motivational deficiencies, the full benefit of what education can be, we can at least keep trying. We can do everything we know how to do.

Let me take one symbolic fact as an illustration of what the last remarks were intended to convey. Last summer, following a boycott, we gathered data on a number of schools where morale was low. We found among other things that in such schools the boys and girls would tell us that the teachers really did not care about them. I recall one young girl, whom we were sure was engaged in a very old profession, said, "This is an awful school. I know kids who got 'C' in classes when they did not even come."

When we checked on the schools with the poor achievement records and the high suspension or police-arrest statistics, sure enough we found them in schools with high absence rates. These proved to be schools in socially disorganized areas and to have principals or assistant principals close to retirement. Oddly, the records of our Attendance Department showed these schools had filed relatively few truancy reports. So to speak, the school staff had stopped trying. We watched with interest what happened in one of these schools when a new principal took over. He began by putting the clerical staff to work phoning the homes and even visiting the homes when a student was absent. To the students, this was a first sign that someone cared. Of course, this initial move was followed by others directed at significant educational matters.

In another school, a junior high school, where the delinquency rate dropped 50 per cent in one year, the principal began his regime by having the walls and floors thoroughly cleaned. Again the first move was superficial and was followed by dealing with more fundamental matters, but the message was there, "I care."

Let us turn now to another pattern of social deviancy with a rather different, but also familiar pattern to it. Much inner-city delinquency is incubated in groups. Growing up in homes where the adults are neglectful or preoccupied with their own problems, the children receive relatively little supervision. Once they have outgrown infancy, and the need for obviously physical care, adults are seldom prime sources of gratification. By the time they are five or six the children come to depend upon each other for many of their pleasures and for much of their security. So to speak, they meet each other's dependency needs. The result is a great skill in finding casual friends and being a member of a street corner group. Coupled with this is often a yearning for excitement and a very flexible conscience. If there is already a prevalence of delinquency, the boys and girls accept this as a source of fun.

On the surface the youngsters are easy-going and friendly. Beneath this surface, however, is a very deep layer of anxiety which they assuage by making friends. Incidentally, there is a reality to this yearning for protection in the form of friends. In many of the disadvantaged areas, children prey on each other. On the way to school a boy who has neither physical prowess nor friends can lose his lunch money. If he is known to have friends who have the potential of rallying to his support or if he is willing to put up a fight he is safe; the greater security is in having friends.

Wise in the arts of living and sensitive to other people, many of these boys and girls are pretty sharp little manipulators. They know how to appeal to each other; they know how to deal with adults. When they start getting in trouble, what can we do for them?

Interestingly, they are relatively impervious to the arts of one-to-one counseling or therapy. As one psychiatrist put it, "You cannot mobilize their anxiety for therapeutic purposes." In an interview situation, their inclination is less one of searching for self-insight than it is of figuring out how to get along with the adult. It is almost impossible for an adult who is trying to establish rapport not to fall into the manipulations to which the young client will engage. In the well-known study of "Girls at Vocational High" in New York, the clients proved untouched by casework approaches.

What does work? In some instances it is possible to accept the group rather than an individual as the unit with which to work. Many of these groups respond to an adult who is helping them find more interesting ways of spending their time. In many cities there has been significant success with programs based on so-called detached workers who engage the groups in their native habitats and help them find reasonably acceptable paths to status and enjoyment.

These gang-oriented youngsters also will respond to those forms of group counseling or group psychotherapy which at the beginning focus upon the realities of their social lives. The term, "life space interviewing" has been coined by Redl to deal with this approach. It has been utilized in such well-known projects as the Highfields Experiment. In life space interviewing the adult takes the stance of wanting to help the young person avoid getting in trouble. When there has been an incident, this is talked over in terms of the realities of the situation. If, for instance, Joe got into a jam because he socked a girl who had enraged him by calling his sister a dirty name, we begin by getting him to tell us what both of us know, when a boy and a girl have a fight, everyone blames the boy. And, that is the way it is. So, whether it is fair or not, if you sock a girl you are in trouble. Ergo, if a girl has called your sister a nasty name, you better figure out something else to do besides belt her. What can that something be? If Joe is reasonably ingenious he may come up with a few interesting ideas. If this is being done in a group of other boys, there will be some interesting brainstorming on that. And, if some of the plans seem to have merit, they can be tried out by having Joe role-play a girl and have some of his friends role-play the boy in the case.

Regardless of the specifics of the technique it may be worth our while to analyze the psychological relationships which life-space interviewing entails. First of all, the adult clearly is sympathizing with the culprit for being in trouble, without condoning or approving his actions. But, he also clearly has placed himself in the role of a real friend, the person who sticks with you when you are in trouble. Then the very nature of the interchanges shows that the adult has sized up the young client as someone who has the competence to make use of good ideas. It tends to express confidence; to bolster that all important self-concept. Lastly, if the boy or girl has a chance to try out a new technique and to find that it works, the pleasant surprise from that discovery tends to provide positive reinforcement. All of us tend to use again those patterns of action which work for us.

Let us turn, now, to some contrasts in deviancy which are likely to be associated with socio-economic class. Note that the very phrasing of the last sentence assumes that at all class levels in this country one will find some deviancy among youth and among adults. But, there are some striking contrasts both in the forms which deviancy takes, the volume with which it presents itself, and the adult mode for dealing with it. These all present problems to which we have to give much thought.

In general, whether we are dealing with urban or rural situations, the deviancies of the underprivileged seem to be rather crude and blatant. (In a way this contrast was highlighted by the way in which his colleagues reacted to the scandalous conduct of Congressman Powell, while taking a benign attitude toward somewhat more elegant scoundrels.) When one interviews children in some inner-city schools one becomes aware of the fact that various forms of shake-down rackets are endemic to the group. A boy past the age of twelve is expected to have to show he can fight to keep his money.

When engaged in the omnipresent youthful pastime of name-calling the epithets they hurl are pungently vulgar. Later, sex conduct may be quite open; the girl who becomes pregnant may keep her child. So to speak, many of the acts which society regards as anti-social are talked about openly and are displayed rather unabashedly. In fact, there may be flaunting of behavior which bespeaks a devil-may-care attitude toward a basically hostile world which deserves to be attacked and whose rules were made to be flouted before approving audiences.

Of course, in every underprivileged community, whether it be in the center of a city or among the hills of played-out rural regions, there are many good people; often they cling to small churches with rigid rules in protection from what to many seems a flood of evil. However, those who do break the rules can be assured most of the time of an approving, if not an admiring, audience. The boys on the street-corner who taunt the police feel they are heroes. The young pimp may find positive status among some of his companions. There is status and prestige in being someone who outrages the citizens. If one listens, for example, to the deeply insightful tape which Edward R. Murrow made of the comments of the boys in New York who killed Michael Farmer one realizes that many of them were driven by panic that their social standing would have been endangered if they had turned chicken.

This then is a second major dimension. There is no question but that the delinquent in an underprivileged community has plenty of company. We did a study in Detroit of the factors linked to the prevalence of delinquency in various neighborhoods. One could predict the volume of delinquency with 90 per cent accuracy if one knew any one of the following facts about a neighborhood: the average family income, the per cent of families which owned cars, the percentage of mothers on ADC, the percentage of unemployed males, and the percentage of older folks on general public assistance. Poverty and deviancy go hand in hand.

By the way, this is by no means a modern discovery. In his guise of "Poor Richard" it was Benjamin Franklin who observed, "It is hard for an empty sack to stand upright." He viewed his own campaigns to teach thrift as a necessary prelude to inculcating honesty. He saw poverty as the major enemy to be defeated.

Let us consider, for instance, what is likely to happen if an adolescent girl becomes pregnant. In the middle-class community there is a good chance that the family will muster its resources both to protect her and to see that she gets some treatment. Before her condition becomes too obvious she may be shipped off to take care of poor old Aunt Alma in California. Arrangements will have been made for the baby to be placed for adoption with one of those agencies which specializes in children of good potential.

But, if she is an inner-city girl, the odds are that she stays in the neighborhood and is finally invited to leave school when her condition is obvious. What care she receives is from a public clinic; after she has delivered her baby, she keeps it.

The significance of the ability of middle-class families to do something constructive for those of their children about whom they become worried was illustrated dramatically in the course of a police investigation into the murder of two boys on a playground in a well-to-do area of our city. Trying to help the police investigate possible suspects, the judge of the juvenile court provided a list of all the boys from that neighborhood who had been in his court during the previous five years. As name after name was checked out it became very apparent that the families had been able to react effectively to the first trouble. Each had done something. Some of the boys had been placed in boarding schools; some had been seen by private psychiatrists; and some of the families had used the resources of casework agencies to deal with family situations. Whatever the reason, all of the boys had been given aid which resulted in a cessation of the delinquency.

Not so when one looks at the core city of any metropolitan area. There one finds case after case in which too little was done too late. Besides, the odds are against individual treatment being successful. And, the parents have little skill in appealing to the helping professions; the young people do not know how to respond.

Lest this seem like a superficial observation, place yourself if you will in the chair of a psychologist or a social worker. In walks a nicely groomed mother, who with appropriate diffidence tells you her worries about herself and her daughter. When you ask questions, her replies are responsive to your queries. When you make suggestions she shows her admiration and her appreciation. Obviously, this is good material. You expect success, and you come to like her. (Parenthetically, some studies of various forms of psychotherapy indicate that the best predictor of success with a case is the feeling of appreciation of the therapist for the client.) Be this as it may, because you expect success you do a more careful job of explaining, you take better care about improving the relationship, and if she should phone you at home in the evening you greet her in a friendly style. Small wonder if she and her daughter benefit.

But, what happens if she comes to the office looking dirty, is preceded by a sour stench, and is difficult to understand. Worse yet, if she acts bewildered, misunderstands you, and acts unappreciative; well then, anyone would predict that this is poor material, and that your effort will be wasted. Such predictions are highly accurate--they are self-fulfilling prophecies, the kind which we make come true. This is not because we are bad people or poor practitioners.

It is not strange, then, that when we look at the people who are successful in dealing constructively with the deviances of "the poor" they prove to be a rather interesting collection of people.

First, we find in many communities those who conform to the picture of the blind leading the blind. This, for example, is the reformed convict who gets pleasure and prestige from helping the fellows who have just been released from the big house. Here is the alcoholic who has shouldered the responsibility of being a good example for active alcoholics whom he takes under his wing. Here is a tough guy who organizes a basketball team.

Second, we have those dedicated professionals who for some inner reason of their own feel that the greatest challenge on the current social scene is to help losers become winners. This is the Junior Leaguer who enlists as tutor for children in an inner-city school; this is the principal of upper-class origin who can swear like the proverbial trooper but do battle for the kids in her school; this is the young clergyman who would rather cast his lot with the people of a slum than be expansively polite from the modernistic pulpit of an architectural gem in a fine community; this is the psychiatrist or the psychologist or the social worker who relishes delinquents so they feel he or she is "for real."

Third, we have the many fine people who, after an American style, accept the ancient injunction, "noblesse oblige." Feeling slightly guilty perhaps at good fortune they do not believe they deserve, or feeling more complete as people because they want to see others thrive, they give voluntarily and freely of themselves. I have tremendous admiration, for example, for the businessmen in one small city who have provided an insightful municipal judge with the most capable corps of volunteer probation officers any community could boast. I have seen college students and comfortable housewives do wonders for the lost souls in mental hospitals and the lost children in schools.

By no means last is the new group of so-called para-professionals being recruited from the people who live in the very areas we call "under-privileged." They know their neighbors, they understand the children, and they have learned to ally themselves with those institutions which offer hope to them and to the people who live next door. The fashion is to call them "aides,"--counselor aides, social work aides, health aides, teacher aides, and attendance aides. Perhaps in the discussion period some in the audience may want to explore in greater details what this group can accomplish. Basically, they provide two facts over and beyond any technical skills they may have developed. One of these is the fact that no sooner do they acquire status then they turn middle class. Having done this they serve as wonderful identification models for youth. Secondly, they know from their own experience that a transition in role is possible and they want to have others get the benefit. So, they care. And, those with whom they come in contact know they care.

Let me close this presentation with a story, which like all stories has its moral. Two years ago as part of a training program for adults who wanted to work with youth in one of our roughest neighborhoods I had arranged to have a panel of rather seriously delinquent boys and girls tell the group what they would like to do. One of the boys said, "You know there are a lot of small garages next to the houses here. Couldn't you get some machines put in them so we could make things to give to the Red Cross?" Not quite getting his point, I replied, "You would like us to get some machines so you could learn to use them and maybe make things you could sell." He added, "Yes, and give it to the Red Cross." Still not getting his point I said, "If you learned how to use the machines you could make good money." Rather impatiently he added, "And give it to the Red Cross." Light dawned and I asked, "Say, would you like maybe to roll bandages or something like that and then go to the hospitals and see people using your bandages?" Then he beamed, "That's right."

The moral, of course, is that in this society of ours the highest status goes to those who help other people, not to those who are being helped. That lad wanted to be on the giving end, not on the receiving end. In his way he was asking for a place of dignity.

It may seem a rather outlandish thought, but much deviant behavior is a self-defeating effort to achieve an illusion of power, to be a somebody rather than a nobody. Those of us who want to help the victims of deviancy find themselves as self-respecting people might very well keep always in mind that in the long run this is our goal. Reaching it may be much easier if we see that it can be attained by working in partnership with those whom we consider disadvantaged. Those of us gathered in this room today are by definition advantaged; we have something of offer.

Earlier this year, Tin Pan Alley turned out a tune whose refrain was, "Here's to the losers, bless them all." One of its final stanzas talked of the day when the losers would be winners and the givers would receive. As in so many sentimental lyrics there was more than a grain of wisdom in the notion.

Our ultimate goal, then, is to help the disadvantaged to the point where they are in position to help, first to help us help their neighbors, then to help each other, and finally, to help us. For many do have that potential; it is for us to recognize that potential, to appreciate it. Then, we will care for each other. It's worth the doing.

Participants' Reactions to Presentation
by Mr. William W. Wattenberg

Most of the discussion groups spent a considerable amount of time discussing Mr. Wattenberg's comments about the impact of administrative competency (or incompetency) on the school atmosphere. Statements were expressed which, seemingly, reflected the idea that a good principal can only have a limited impact on improving the skills of the teachers in the building, but an incompetent administrator can have a devastating effect on the quality of staff and pupil morale and teacher effectiveness. Numerous examples were presented to illustrate the fact that the inability of principals to effectively deal with those problems considered by the teachers to be within his domain lead to a break-down of communication and to intra-staff bickering which seriously impedes the effectiveness of the teachers.

A small group of teachers expressed the point of view that teachers were, for the most part, afraid to experiment with new approaches to teaching the disadvantaged for fear that failure would reflect negatively upon their teaching ability. The discussion which followed centered on the positive role of the supervisors when working with teachers. One participant expressed the thought that such a role should emphasize "constructive supervision" rather than "destructive snoopervision."

A number of groups discussed possible means of reducing the heavy teaching loads (referring to contact hours as well as number of students) under which teachers in large cities presently labor. Emphasis was placed on the use of para-professionals to staff all non-teaching assignments (study halls, cafeterias, hall duty), the assignment of a teacher aide to a "teaching team" (perhaps four or five teachers) who could handle the clerical tasks for that team (attendance, use of the copying machine, collection of monies, typing of reports, correction of some tests).

Some of the groups spent a large portion of time dealing with an area the importance of which was emphasized by Mr. Wattenberg---the diagnostic and remedial roles of the teachers. Most felt that teachers are presently incapable of accurately diagnosing the problems of children that apparently tend to block learning; that they lack both the skills and the insights which would permit them to effectively carry out those roles. This inability to accurately assess the problems facing the learners obviously lessens the possibility that a given teacher will prescribe the proper remedial program which might enable a student to attain an element of success within our academically oriented schools. The lack of such skill definitely implies a significant "gap" in current teacher education programs; one which must be dealt with soon if the ever-increasing number of disadvantaged pupils is to be helped by the schools.

The reactions of the participants indicated that teachers were sorely lacking knowledge of proper referral channels for their students with specific, identifiable problems. They lack information about which agencies are best suited to deal with which problems and the most effective means of referral once the proper agency has been identified.

A minority of participants in one discussion group took the stance that those students who are unable to conform to the basic school regulations are obviously misfits and should be excluded from the public schools. This same group also expressed the opinion that a general up-grading of all educational opportunities rather than an intensive investment of resources directed toward solving the problems of a single group (i.e.; the disadvantaged) is preferrable.

WHAT DO WE NEED?

Miss Whipple, at the outset and throughout her presentation, contends that disadvantaged children need a "better than equal" curriculum if their needs are to be met; that such a program must involve the finest available material and human resources in whatever quantities are required to accomplish the task at hand. This approach is in direct agreement with those who state that "quality" education for all does not infer that every student must be exposed to the same set of educational experiences; it does, however, imply that the schools must employ whatever means are necessary---and in many cases the nature and extent of those means might differ markedly---to provide an education for each individual and group of individuals that can serve as a "model of excellence."

She clearly points out that, "What must be done, regardless of the effort and financial outlay needed, is to prevent reading failure. Any expense and sacrifice of time and effort is justified to this end."

Numerous specific techniques which teachers of the disadvantaged can effectively utilize in their classrooms are presented, many of which could immediately be effected in any classroom and others of which must await prior modification in organizational structure or administrative processes.

Of particular value to teachers is her analysis of those criteria against which materials selected for use with disadvantaged students should be evaluated. The availability of such standards will provide teachers with a considerably more rational basis for selection of materials than has previously been existent.

CURRICULUM FOR THE DISADVANTAGED

Gertrude Whipple*

Disadvantaged children need a "better than equal" curriculum. This means discrimination in favor of the disadvantaged at all levels from the nursery school through the secondary school. An immensely superior curriculum is the only lever that will enable the children to make a good start in life.

The curriculum, as I shall use the term, consists of the experiences that the child has through the initiative of the school. The teacher is the key person in determining the curriculum. For given the same facilities, equipment, materials, and curriculum guides, any two teachers will provide vastly different curriculums, because teachers vary in attitudes, abilities, and insights.

For many years, most teachers and school officials have considered deprived children as inferior and unable to learn to cope with urban life. Today the view is being increasingly accepted that their backwardness does not necessarily result from low native capacity, but rather from impoverished environments. It is well substantiated that the children respond to instruction when their curriculums are unequal, in the sense of being far, far better and more costly than usual. This, one must hope and believe, if he is to help construct a satisfactory curriculum for the severely deprived youngsters pouring into our urban schools.

Teacher education. Therefore, the first step to be taken is that of convincing and equipping the teachers through in-service education. The education must be tailored to meet their needs. One of the best approaches is on-the-job education. At regular periods, perhaps a day or a half-day each week or every two weeks, released time is built into their schedule. If this is not feasible, the teachers are compensated for attendance during out-of-school hours. In meetings with local supervisors or other leaders, they are introduced to the problems the children face, the types of experiences needed, and the effective new methods, materials and equipment. Best are special workshops held for teachers at different school levels.

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Principals often confess that they know little about the basic school subjects, particularly the teaching of reading. Principals, too, must increase their knowledge if they are to guide a team of teachers working together to attain continuity in a sound program.

Through a variety of in-service helps, everyone concerned comes to see what is needed for the disadvantaged children--a general reconstruction, radical improvement and total reform of the curriculum.

Standards of excellence. The goals and the standards of achievement must be every bit as high as those of curriculums for middle-class children. Before the disadvantaged enter the secondary school, the majority should have come abreast with the middle class in many respects including motivation to learn, oral vocabulary, firsthand experiences, basic concepts, and persistence in study.

To this end, the schools for deprived youngsters must have a larger proportion of superior teachers than do other schools. Their schools must have several times the financial investment for more fortunate children, a lower teacher-pupil ratio, more carefully chosen reading materials and more of them, much better everything. For to catch up with others, the disadvantaged child must learn much more in a shorter time.

Conditions Essential to An Effective Curriculum

More flexible school organization. Disadvantaged children are in special need of a continuous program from preschool through high school. The traditional organization of separate and distinct grades tends to create gaps in their schooling. A non-graded plan would seem better, first because this plan facilitates adaptation of instruction to the child's rate of progress, and second because it permits every child to proceed without experiencing non-promotion. In a primary unit, young children seem to benefit by having the same teacher during their first few years in school. In an intermediate unit, this sustained relationship helps the teacher to keep the tasks the child is expected to perform within his capacities at all times.

Smaller classes. All the way through the elementary and secondary school, classes for instruction in the basic subjects should be much smaller than their present size. Even if the school budget is not sufficient to reduce class size, efforts can be made in this direction.

Eve Malmquist of Sweden describes the procedure used in his country to cut the size of beginning classes in half.

> One half meets, for instance, with the teacher the first two hours of the day. The second half comes to school for the next two-hour period, during which the first half is free to play or engage in other activities. By this means the teacher has no more than 13 pupils at a time, for half of the time the pupils are at school.[3]

In our large cities, where there is heavy traffic and young children cannot be permitted to go to and from school at odd hours, this plan requires some modification. With one additional teacher or one qualified lay person, half of several classes can play in the gymnasium or on the school playground, while the other pupils receive instruction in a basic subject. This permits the teachers to give each child more individual attention.

This plan is even easier to administer in the middle grades. Here half the pupils of several classes can go to a school auditorium to receive TV instruction or enrichment programs such as viewing movies or enjoying plays, art, or music, or to a gymnasium for physical education.

Well-organized classrooms. In order to develop the good personal and social attitudes that have not been demonstrated in the home, the teacher gives particular attention to the classroom environment. For example, at the beginning of the primary unit, instruction in the care of personal and public property is begun. The teacher creates an orderly and well-structured classroom environment; he has a place for everything. Gradually, he gives over the care of some of the cupboards to the class. The teacher calls the children's attention to the neat arrangement, reads aloud the simple labels on the shelves, and discusses a few rules for the care of the material. The idea is suggested that no one will suffer when everything belonging in the cupboard is put away carefully. Likewise, the teacher shows the children how to arrange their own storage spaces, and checks them frequently.

Throughout the school, to prevent vandalism from developing, the teacher motivates the children to conserve personal and public property. Whenever the class receives a new set of books, the teacher develops habits of opening the book correctly, using a book mark instead of turning down pages, and never marking in the book. In the later-elementary unit, where conservation is ordinarily taught, the subject is begun with the theme of protecting one's home and neighborhood from loss, waste, and harm, rather than with the strange and remote concept of the life and death of the land.

A well-organized classroom is also necessary in teaching obedience, self-discipline, and willingness to work for more distant rewards.

High Aspirations

The successive units of an effective curriculum aim to develop a good self-image together with higher aspirations and self-confidence. This is accomplished chiefly through giving the learner tasks in which he can succeed. The teacher breaks every process into its components, develops each part carefully, provides practice under his supervision, encourages the child to carry on further practice independently, and creates situations in which the new learning is put to immediate use. Each work pattern is repeated often until mastery has been attained. Then the teacher shows the child his progress, using some concrete means such as a pictorial graph.

With a backlog of success and positive experiences as well as the teacher's frequent commendation, the child begins to develop self-confidence. His desire to achieve is enhanced. He acquires reasonable aspirations, not only academic but also life aspirations.

Life aspirations are encouraged through the content of the books he reads. In the primary unit, the books on the classroom library shelves include stories in pictures and text about various occupations, and in higher units, success stories of persons of the child's own background who have risen economically and socially.

The Language Arts

Among the deprived children, the predominating fatal handicap is retarded development of standard English. Before entering school, the children experience emotional encounters that repress their language. They lack vocal stimulation. They are deficient in listening power and suffer from limited language to express their ideas. They discuss fewer topics and use immature sentence forms. Therefore, the new curriculum must focus upon accelerating language development.

According to research findings, children's language power increases with an increase in adult contacts. For example, the fewer the children in the family, the more mature is their language. This finding indicates the value of grouping children around adults for conversation and discussion.

But talking calls for something worthwhile to talk about. At all school levels an effective curriculum exposes children to new worlds to make them curious, observing, and talkative. Let the children be taken here and there on walks and on buses, trains and airplanes. Encourage young children to note the effects of changing seasons and landscapes other than their own. Let students see men at work in different industries. Let them observe how boats and airplanes operate and ways of making a living in different areas. Such means enable disadvantaged children to relate verbal discussions to reality. The more the child sees, hears and experiences, the more ideas he will have to express.

It is vital that the curriculum afford the child an infinite number of opportunities to listen to good oral expression so that he will acquire an "ear" for standard English. Listening to recordings of stories and of fascinating information can give him models to follow.

Heavy emphasis on the language - experience approach is especially good since the teacher rephrases the child's contributions in standard English. This approach also develops concern for language as meaning. The teacher stimulates discussion, helps the children express finer shades of meaning, and records the ideas on the chalkboard. For young children, the teacher-class composition serves as reading material; for older children, it illustrates how to work out a good written paragraph or a successful letter of application for a job or it may summarize useful conclusions on managing time, managing money, improving personal appearance, or dealing with tensions, frustrations and disappointments.

Reading

Broadening experiences and interesting conversation and discussion make the child want to discover the unknown by reading. Reading is of great importance to him for success in the world of work. He must learn to read well so that he can secure immediate success in his chosen work. Later, when confronted with technological changes, he must be able to use reading as a means of gaining new information and skills.

Present efforts to strengthen reading abilities and skills are concerned chiefly with the establishment of remedial-reading centers. Indeed, 52 per cent of the current Title I reading programs focus upon remediation. The programs are designed for children who have suffered reading failure and have deep-seated reading difficulties.

Surely it is important for children who have not benefited by the reading instruction given them to be singled out for diagnosis and then provided with specialized professional help. But a strong reading program diminishes the risk of failure. It makes [illegible] slowly and insures mastery at each level. Our No. 1 responsibility is to develop effective reading programs.

In 1964 Benjamin S. Bloom[1] summarized the findings of about 1,000 longitudinal studies in which the same persons were repeatedly measured or observed at different points in their development. One of Bloom's chief findings is that the environment in which the individual develops will have its greatest effect on his characteristics in the most rapid period of change and its least effect in the least rapid period of change. Bloom's study showed also that when the child enters first grade he has already gone through the period of life in which development seems to be most rapid. In fact, Bloom estimated that at least one third of the individual's development at age eighteen has taken place prior to his entrance into first grade.

Pre-reading instruction. In view of Bloom's findings, a fundamental program takes the children at three or four and improves their opportunities and accomplishments long before reading instruction is begun. Classes are very small, no more than fifteen children to one teacher and two teacher aides. The children's special needs are met such as care of health, nutrition, and psychological and emotional disturbances, which ghetto conditions produce with such high frequency.

The curriculum is fitted to the individual children. It provides the experiences suited to their age that they have missed. Examples are: playing with toys; examining, discussing and eating common fruits and vegetables; caring for pets; using art materials; talking informally with a sympathetic adult who answers their questions; participating in games that build vocabulary and give practice in using proper word order in sentences; listening to stories such as folk tales with definite sequence; being read to and encouraged to talk about pictures, books, and their experiences; taking walking trips and bus trips; and sharing in role playing and dramatic representation. Rest periods are often used for music enrichment. Since the young children are not accustomed to having space inside a building, they are allowed to play in a large indoor space such as a gymnasium.

To develop ideas of good family life, the children are encouraged to talk about their families, and the teacher uses children's literature to illustrate the idea of a family and how the members help one another. To increase interest and attention span, the children are invited at the end of the day to review what they have learned that day.

In such a curriculum, the child hears a new style of language before he is introduced to printed text. After two or three years of hearing good spoken language, he will use more elaborate language himself -- more exact words to fit a situation, a greater number of different words, and more sentences as opposed to phrases. Thus he is far, far better equipped for beginning reading instruction.

In the young children lies the main hope of curing inner-city reading problems. The heavily subsidized programs of remediation correct some of the reading difficulties created by substandard curriculums--substandard in the sense of being totally unsuited to the deprived child. What must be done, regardless of the effort and financial outlay needed, is to prevent reading failure. Any expense and sacrifice of time and effort is justified to this end.

No one approach to beginning reading. During the last few decades controversies have raged concerning the best method of teaching beginning reading. A greater variety of methods has been proposed than ever before--programed reading, the electric typewriter, the linguistic methods, Words in Color, augmented alphabets, various phonic methods, individualized reading, etcetera. However, change to a new method is not necessarily progress; and research does not offer unanimous support for the use of any one approach. A best method of introducing children to reading does not exist. Every desirable reading program for disadvantaged children uses several methods in trying to give the individual the kind of guidance he needs.

Diagnostic teaching. From the first day of school, the teacher makes an on-going diagnosis for those children who are incipient cases of reading retardation. Immediately the teacher gives special help before the child is advanced to more difficult tasks.

Today there are many ways for the teacher to detect a beginning illness in reading. He can observe lack of interest, inability to concentrate upon the reading activity, lack of persistence, signs of poor visual perception, low educational level of parents, and lack of emotional adjustment. He can test reading readiness, memory span, visual letter perception, auditory perception, accuracy in oral reading, comprehension in silent reading, spelling ability and phonetic knowledge. If class size is kept small, if enough good reading materials are available, and if teachers are provided with well-trained aides, at critical points a qualified teacher can reinforce the child's abilities and halt his failure.

But teachers will need plenty of time to work with the pupils. They should not be assigned lunch or other duties that can be performed by lay aides. An aide can do clerical work, operate audiovisual equipment, read aloud to children, and work with children on skills after they are introduced.

A resource teacher in the school can give help with the more difficult problems and share good ideas with regular teachers. A resource teacher is a dedicated, gifted person who over a period of years has sifted the helpful approaches from many methods and has consolidated them into effective procedures. Every school system has a limited number of these "artist" teachers who should be sought out for work with the disadvantaged.

Since the responsiveness of disadvantaged children is in direct proportion to the amount of individual attention and guidance children receive, they must be provided also with extended school services if their problems are to be alleviated. School libraries should be made available after school and during the summer months. The school should be an around-the-clock neighborhood and recreational center.

The provision of health services is imperative since poor nutrition, uncorrected physical handicaps and lack of personal care drain the child's energy and self esteem. The children require the services of doctors, dentists, speech correctionists, nurses, etc. Breakfast and lunch should be given to the child who comes to school hungry.

A skill program. Many of the deprived youngsters who are in fourth grade and above have not mastered the simplest basic reading skills. Because of poor language development, they find reading a very abstract activity, and also have inadequate listening skills. They remember some of what they read but usually recall only facts or unimportant details.

Such children need to be given definite, demonstrable reading tasks that they can complete in a short time by using concrete materials. To illustrate, one such activity relates to a single skill in critical reading--arranging ideas in proper sequence. After the children have read a short story, at their reading level, they may each be given a duplicated sheet that lists five or six statements giving the main events in random order. The children may be asked to number these in the proper order, cut apart the sentence strips, and paste them in correct order on another sheet of paper. Later in a discussion period, the class may evaluate the results and recall the details surrounding each event. Later this skill may be applied to expository material where the child must grasp the steps in a process. Later still he can be led to develop other skills needed in critical reading such as evaluating information as being of primary or secondary importance or summarizing ideas. In all such tasks the child needs to work with concrete materials, to have short range goals, to know that he has succeeded, and to have some tangible reward. Teachers who are aware of these needs are usually ingenious in meeting them and should have opportunities to share their ideas with one another.

Team work. There is no school subject more in need of team work on the part of teachers than that of reading. A teacher in an intermediate unit must continue where the teacher in the primary unit left off. He must continue in each phase of reading, in word recognition, word meanings, oral reading, comprehension, and interpretation, rate of reading, and use of books and libraries. Furthermore, he must know that continuity in developing reading skills does not mean continuity for an entire class but for an individual child.

The teachers in each school need a "breakdown" of the specific skills to be taught from the lowest to the highest grade so that each one will know which skills were introduced earlier and should be maintained and what is a desirable order of introducing the new skills.

In order to increase reading abilities and skills, even the best teacher needs the assistance of reading materials that are excellent in quality and quantity.

Reading Materials

Until recently both schoolbooks and children's literature represented an all-white world. United States histories were insensitive to the contributions and achievements of Negroes. Basic readers for the primary grades were unquestionably white suburban. As Nancy Larrick[2] has said, 6,340,000 nonwhite children across the country were learning to read and understand the American way of life in books which omitted them entirely or scarcely mentioned them.

Recently authors and publishers have begun to break the color bars in the all-white world of children's books. Dual editions of basic readers have appeared that differ chiefly in the portrayal of Negroes. One edition, apparently designed for the disadvantaged, depicts Negroes in every book whereas the other edition depicts no Negroes at all. Of two series from another publishing house one called a regular series is predominately white, the other, a multi-ethnic series, uses stylized art which makes it hard to conjecture the race of the nonwhites portrayed. In still other series that are revisions of earlier editions, the reader sees an occasional picture of a Negro but the books focus on an all-white world. In the main, basic readers do not yet clearly reflect an integrated society.

Book selecting committees would do well to remind their members that change in schoolbooks is not necessarily equivalent to improvement. There must be a steady process of searching available books, trying them out in the classroom, and objective standards in evaluating and comparing their merits. As examples of standards to apply in the selection of readers for disadvantaged primary children, I submit the following basic questions:

1. Are the readers integrated so that the Negro child can identify with the characters or do the readers show built-in discrimination (e.g. showing Negroes only as bystanders and naming white characters only putting the stories of Negroes at the back of the book; including stereotypes such as a Negro porter carrying a suitcase and omitting Negro characters of higher status)?
2. Do the beginning readers offer a concrete approach that lends itself to role-playing? The deprived child is dismayed by an impersonal, abstract approach.
3. To what extent will the content of the readers and the activities described in the teachers' manuals be useful in accelerating the

child's language development? Stories that are a source of joy and excitement or give intriguing information stimulate the communication of ideas.

4. Do the stories include a large proportion that are boy-oriented? Since more boys than girls are likely to have reading problems, the books must make a special appeal to boys. The all-white suburban series with its two girls and one boy character is not suited to disadvantaged children who so often come from one-parent homes.
5. Are the story plots such that the child will follow them with interest or is there no effective plan of action (e.g. no climax that rewards the reader)? Disadvantaged children whose parents have found no pleasure in reading are especially in need of narrative interest appeal. The books should make reading more fun with surprise, humor and a dose of mystery.
6. Are the earliest books short enough to give the children a definite feeling of accomplishment?
7. Do the teachers' manuals provide direction for teachers in skill development and social learnings?
8. Do the books present enough suitable content to facilitate attainment of these objectives? This cannot be taken for granted since, for instance, tabulations show that one series particularly constructed for the disadvantaged has a heavier vocabulary load than other series and offers less reading material.

This discussion has stressed that a sound curriculum for the seriously deprived (1) is not "watered down"; (2) requires a wisely structured classroom and school environment; (3) stresses social as well as skill objectives; (4) promotes a good self-image on the part of the child;

(5) emphasizes mastery rather than makes a "flying start"; (6) stimulates language development; and (7) gives the child success and satisfaction. By beginning early enough in the life of the child, the need for remediation can be reduced immeasurably.

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Participants' Reactions to
Presentation by Miss Gertrude Whipple

A number of questions were raised during the discussions following Miss Whipple's presentation, many of which centered around her statement that those whom we currently term "disadvantaged" must be given a "better than equal curriculum." Most of the points raised centered around consideration of the following questions: What constitutes a "better curriculum?" By what criteria should such a curriculum be evaluated? Does this infer that disadvantaged students should have more of the same materials that all students are exposed to, that they must be exposed to different materials in the same quantity, or that they require exposure to additional resources of a differential nature?

Some expressed the opinion that all teachers---both elementary and secondary---should participate in undergraduate coursework designed to prepare them to cope with reading problems in the classroom. Such courses, it was agreed, should place major emphasis on the diagnosis and remediation of reading difficulties rather than on a survey of what is happening in the United States in the field of reading. It was pointed out that secondary teachers, in particular, need such skills if they are to effectively work with the disadvantaged in the schools.

Most of the participants were very much in favor of placing teachers on book-selection committees. And in fact, the suggestion was made that books should be purchased on a school-by-school basis rather than on a system-wide basis. The rationale presented in favor of this viewpoint was that the type of materials needed for use with children in certain schools differed and that this should be taken into account when purchasing texts. In general, the economy of mass-purchasing should not be considered an adequate substitute for provision of needed instructional materials.

There was a feeling among some of the participants that Miss Whipple's presentation was geared largely to the elementary level and those who represented the secondary schools would have appreciated more direction in terms of reading materials and activities appropriate to that level which could be integrated into the curriculum.

Most of the participants felt that the set of eight standards against which curriculum materials for the disadvantaged could be evaluated were extremely valuable. Since teachers and principals have the opportunity to examine only a limited number of the multitude of those available, the opinion was expressed that the availability of such normative standards would provide them with a sound base for consideration of whatever materials were given them for inspection. It was brought out that teachers have a professional responsibility to carefully evaluate those materials available to them and to utilize only such materials as would appear beneficial to the students on the basis of a thorough diagnosis of student needs. An analogy was presented which asked how each participant would feel if a doctor prescribed a series of drugs for an illness before making a careful diagnosis to insure that the drugs prescribed would eliminate the undesirable condition. In the same vein, the materials made available to students by teachers should be based on an evaluation of those pupils' needs and should be carefully designed to insure the remediation of learning problems being faced by the students.

THE INEQUITY
OF THE SYSTEM!

Although Mr. Goldman was not a speaker at the Conference, he spent a considerable amount of time talking to participants about the problems currently facing the schools. To this end, he observed some of the discussion groups, and met with participants individually and in small groups.

These discussions led him to develop two conclusions about the views expressed by the participants. The first is that there was a general tendency for those involved to digress from the topic at hand and to consistently turn to consideration of person-to-person interaction. The second was the tendency to place major emphasis on changing the "things" of education---the books, the buildings, the teaching machines, and the amount of supplies available. In both cases the discussions tended toward the superficial rather than an in-depth approach.

In the paper that follows, included because it was a direct outgrowth of his experiences during the Conference, Mr. Goldman examines two factors which are implicit in our contemporary educational programs and points out the ways in which these have a detrimental effect on disadvantaged youth.

First, evidence is presented which describes the extent to which the schools are middle class oriented and the ways in which this orientation results in discriminatory behavior on the part of school personnel.

The second factor is the extent to which the nature of school activities is better suited to girls than to boys and the manner in which this operates to the disadvantage of youth (and particularly boys) from the lower socio-economic class.

The paper clearly points out that a need exists for a complete analysis of instructional and operational procedures to determine those modifications that will lead to the development of schools which would be effective instructional centers for the education of children.

THE SCHOOLS AND THE DISADVANTAGED

An Examination of a Fundamental Conflict

Harvey Goldman*

It has in recent years become rather commonplace for those concerned with the future of our nation to expound upon "the central role of the public schools within our society." Such presentations tend to place major emphasis on the rapidity of change within our society and the significance of that change for the educational establishment with respect to insuring that our populace is capable of adapting to evolving conditions within our social, economic, and philosophic spheres.

It has also been evident that a sizable minority of Americans (forty to fifty million) have not had the quality of their lives significantly enhanced during this same period in which the standard of living for the majority has been characterized by numerous qualitative improvements. In fact, the quality of the lives of those living in our urban centers has regressed in relative terms. Bagdikian[1], one commentator on our contemporary social scene, has expressed the fear that a class of permanently poor people is being created and that those encased in this "cycle of poverty" will continue to find escape impossible without a massive infusion of resources---human and monetary---from both the public and private sectors of our economy.

In particular, concern has been expressed over the inability of our schools to deal effectively with the problems in our urban centers. Conant[2] has pointed out that youth in our urban centers, and particularly Negroes, find it increasingly difficult to obtain employment. This is as true for those possessing high school diplomas as it is for those who leave school prior to graduation.

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Melby[3] has pointed out the extent to which elementary students become increasingly dissatisfied with the schools as they progress through the grades; their self-concepts tend to be diminished rather than enhanced as a result of their experiences in classrooms.

This paper constitutes an examination of two factors, both integrally related, which contribute to this disaffection that our disadvantaged youth express toward the schools at such an early age. The first factor to be examined will be the middle-class nature of our school systems as they currently exist within and outside of our urban centers. The second factor to be considered will be the blatant manner with which educators tend to disregard the differential nature of the two sexes.

The Middle-Class Nature of the Public Schools

The first public schools in our country were the colonial grammar schools. These institutions served both college preparatory and religious functions. Thus, the existence of a well-trained and adequate clergy was assured at all times. A major function of the colonial grammar school "was to establish a common base of religious leadership in the whole population..."[4] Although designed in a manner which insured that only a select few would pass through its hallowed halls, the grammar school served a broader purpose than at first appeared evident. That is, those who received their education in the grammar schools were expected to transmit their knowledge to the townspeople and, in this way, facilitate the development of a common culture (albeit a religious one).

The academy, the development of which followed that of the grammar school, was an institution designed to serve a broader base of clientele and also to meet a very different set of needs. As envisioned by Benjamin Franklin, the academy was to be an instrument for the preparation of the rising middle class in terms of civic and occupational skills. It is obvious that the academy was originally established to meet the needs of those comprising the middle class at a time when the types of skills required by our society were in a state of rapid transition. The need for skilled personnel had become acute. That this ideal (the provision of occupational skills for all aspiring to middle-class status) was not fully carried out was the result of a compromise deemed necessary at the time.

It is particularly interesting to note that no classical languages were offered in the first publicly supported high school opened in Boston in 1821. Yet such subjects as surveying and navigation were included in the curriculum along with literature and composition, mathematics, history, science, and philosophy. Again, the implication is clear that the publicly supported high schools were to serve a practical function; that those completing the program offered were to be capable of "carrying their own weight" within the society.

Speaking of the public schools as they exist today, Krug[5] has pointed out that contemporary American education is based on and committed to three major ideals: 1) that it should be free; 2) that it should be popular (meeting the needs of the people); 3) that it should be universal.

One cannot escape the realization that the schools in our country have historically been the agents for the promotion of a common culture---one which encompassed the vast majority of the populace. Even the colonial grammar schools, selective in nature and educating only the intellectually capable, served the ultimate purpose of providing the community with a common culture. In retrospect, an examination of the early academy and the public high schools brings to light substantial evidence of the middle-class nature of these schools. The inclusion of vocational and other "practical" courses in their curricula is quite noticeable. During the period when public high schools were increasing in number, the traditional classical curriculum offered by many private schools was increasingly viewed with disdain by the general public.

The question arises as to whether or not the public schools as we now know them continue to retain their middle-class bias---a bias which insures that those not committed to a middle-class value pattern are excluded from equal educational opportunities in a systematic manner through a subtle, but ever-present, form of discrimination. The major question to be answered at this time is whether or not such discrimination does exist even though, in many cases, the same curriculum, texts, buildings, and percentage of certified teachers are available to all students throughout a school system irregardless of social class membership.

A study conducted by Sims[6] clearly indicates that teachers consistently perceive themselves as members of the middle or upper-middle class. In addition, they exhibited extremely conservative views with respect to political and economic issues.

> The majority of the teachers showed little sympathy with labor and laboring people, generally considered themselves a "cut above" skilled workers and, to a lesser extent, above other "white collar" workers.[7]

The attitudes of teachers, as described by Sims, indicate a desire on the part of those teachers to maintain the status quo. At a time when the liberal segment of our society is espousing the need for the federal government to make available massive sums of money for programs to assist the disadvantaged in breaking their "cycle of poverty," teachers are expressing their desire for a traditional approach to the economic, political, and social problems which confront our nation. The type of social, economic, and political order which they see as desirable is disconcertingly similar to those of the highly conservative, status quo oriented, influential businessmen and bankers described by Kimbrough.[8]

Another study[9] clearly points out the extent to which the middle-class oriented teachers manifest their internalized prejudices in terms of discriminatory behavior which prevents disadvantaged children from taking full advantage of the educational opportunities offered them. The evidence clearly implied that teachers' behavioral patterns indicated a rejection of lower-class students on their part. The data indicated that students from the lower socio-economic class generally received lower grades than did those who were members of the middle or upper classes. It was also quite interesting to note that students from the lower socio-economic class received more severe punishments than did students from the other socio-economic classes for the same disciplinary offenses. Finally, the data made evident the fact that those students whom we currently term "disadvantaged" were not accepted socially by their teachers.

Teachers[10] tend to manifest an obvious inconsistency when attempting to justify their rejection of disadvantaged students. Their justifications defy logic and can only be viewed as gross rationalizations in defense of their inability to effectively deal with the problems facing them. This investigation showed that teachers consistently perceive students from the lower socio-economic class as being "morally unacceptable" because they smoke, drink, swear, or are occasionally involved in sexually immoral acts. Behavior of this type was considered by the teachers to be both undesirable and unneccessary. On the other hand, the same behaviors, when manifested by students from the middle or upper socio-economic classes, were casually excused by the teachers who explained these students' indiscretions with such terms as "it wasn't their fault," or "they've been terribly spoiled," or "it won't happen again." Clearly, a double standard is in effect and it is the disadvantaged students who consistently receive "the short end of the deal." The same teachers, when asked their opinions about their role as professional educators, stated that the same subject matter and teaching techniques are appropriate for all children. Once a teacher is able to adopt (and, perhaps, even believe) this position, he or she is nearly automatically relieved of all responsibility for the failure of some children to achieve in school. The next "logical" step is the statement that it is not the teacher's fault if the student did not learn what was "taught." At the same time we can be quite certain that these teachers would reject any statement which implied that, if teaching consisted merely of presenting a predetermined body of subject matter to students in a relatively routinized fashion, we would be better off eliminating all teachers and employing various forms of programmed instruction on a massive scale. Such a suggestion would immediately evoke from the teachers numerous platitudes describing the many unique characteristics of each individual and the fact that only a thinking human being---in this case, a teacher---is suited to deal with them since the number and the complexity of the relationships among those characteristics could not be effectively dealt with by a machine. Again, the inconsistency of their statements is evident; they imply that the teaching act and the nature of the content dealt with are relatively routine, yet rebel when confronted with a statement which asserts that routinized acts are best dealt with by machines built expressly for that purpose.

Although we would like to think of our schools as places in which the finest possible education is provided to every student in attendance, it appears quite clear that this ideal state has not yet been attained. The evidence also seems to indicate that, to a considerable extent, a determination of the socio-economic class to which a student belongs can serve as a rough guide indicative of the quality of education accessible to that student and that the most desirable teaching-learning situations are most often available to students from the middle and upper socio-economic classes while being systematically withheld from those students classified as "lower-class."

The Differential Nature of the Sexes and the School Program

It is amazing to note the almost total disregard with which we, as educators, tend to dismiss the significance of inter-sex differences among our students. Not only is this disregard evident in the manner by which we develop curriculum, but it is also quite obvious when one examines the tests---both standardized and teacher-made---which are utilized in the schools. Few, if any, so-called "ability tests" used commonly in the schools (other than individual tests like the WISC or WAIS) provide norms for both males and females. Only a very few reading tests (like the Gray Oral Reading Test) provide differential norms for the sexes. And, aside from the Differential Aptitude Tests, almost none of the standardized achievement tests make such norms available.

In terms of school curricula there is very little differentiation of activities between the sexes. This is particularly true in the first through at least the third grade and, quite often, through the sixth grade. Boys and girls read together, write together, have art and music lessons together, and even have the dubious pleasure of sharing the same gym classes. The one area in which the schools have finally admitted that differences between boys and girls are of importance is with regard to reading interests. Many of the newer reading texts designed for elementary schools contain stories geared to the interests of young boys. It should be noted, however, that this differential is in terms of materials and has no effect upon the nature of the activities with which the students are faced. The fact that most elementary teachers are female very probably has had a significant impact on the nature of the teaching-learning activities which have historically become an integral aspect of the elementary curriculum, but this will not be considered at this time since female teachers could, if they so desired and if they felt it was necessary, devise and utilize differential activities for boys and girls during at least a part of each school day.

Two factors must be considered at this time. The first is the extent to which differences exist between boys and girls which would necessitate the development of differential activities. And the second is an examination of the extent to which any differences that do exist between the social classes tend to result in a diminishing of the quality of education provided disadvantaged students.

Young girls from both the middle and lower socio-economic classes have many things in common.

Parents, particularly mothers, tend to keep young girls dressed in clothes which can be considered "pretty" or "cute". They are often admonished to "keep clean," "stay neat," and to "act like a young lady." This is not to infer that the clothes worn by young girls from the two social classes are necessarily of the same quality or that they are available in the same quantity; it is only to say that there is a type of clothes which young girls often wear and a set of adult expectations regarding the behavioral patterns of the young girls when wearing those clothes.

In both cases there are some distinct similarities regarding the type of play activities in which the girls engage. They tend to play games which require role-playing, often acting out such roles as "mother," "nurse," "teacher," and "actress" (all of which are realistic roles which depict people whom they will meet throughout their lives). In addition to the fact that these activities require a relatively sophisticated approach to role-playing, they are also of a rather passive nature, usually requiring a minimal amount of physical exertion. They are also activities which the girls find it possible to carry out within spatial areas of limited size. A third common characteristic of these activities is that they involve a high degree of verbalization. The girls talk to their dolls or to the other girls playing with them. The girl playing the role of mother, nurse or teacher must explain to the other participants what is expected of them. Nevertheless, there very definitely appears to be a qualitative differential in the language patterns manifested by girls from the two social classes. To a great extent this differential can be accounted for by the differences in the quality of language utilized by the parents, and particularly the mothers, who serve as models for the girls.

Within their families, even as youngsters, the girls often enjoy certain advantages over their male counterparts. First of all, there is a tendency for the mother, who spends the most time with the youngsters during the day, to favor the girls; this tendency is exaggerated by the fact that the high degree of contact permits the girls to study and internalize the female role which their mothers carry out during the day---a role which involves the establishment of behavioral norms in a variety of areas (dress, cooking, cleaning, relations to others, etc.).

For the most part, the female model presented through the mass media describes women involved in activities similar to or related to those which

which the young girls view as common to the female role. They are also roles which the girls know will be open to them in later years. They are seen cleaning house, cooking, and caring for children. Even in those cases where women undertake an occupational role in the movies or on television, they usually retain their lady-like manner.

Now let us examine the situation in which young boys from the middle and lower socio-economic classes spend their childhood years.

The young boys from both social classes, too, tend to be dressed similarly very often. The neat, pressed slacks and clean white shirts are usually reserved for "dress-up" occasions. And for "every-day" wear the young boys can be found wearing T-shirts, sweat-shirts, dungarees, sneakers, and other articles of clothing of a similar nature. Rather than being admonished to "keep clean," "stay neat," and to "act like a young lady," the boys are told to "go out and play," "stay out of trouble," and to "act like a young man." Again, the inference cannot be made that the boys from the two social classes possess the same quantity or quality of clothes, only that there is a common type of clothes in which young boys tend to spend a considerable amount of time. As was also true for the girls, the type of clothing worn and the nature of the admonishments directed to them by their parents tend to convey to the boys a set of parental expectations which give direction to the type of behavioral patterns which they manifest.

The play activities of boys tend to be action-centered rather than role-playing centered. They tend to become involved in games of baseball, football, handball, stick-ball, running, swimming, volleyball, and others of a like sort. All of these are action-centered and also involve whole-body muscle activity; they involve the use of large muscles for body control. Those role-playing activities in which the boys do engage (such as cowboys, soldiers, and firemen) do not describe models which are realistic with respect to our society, are not sufficiently common for the boys to observe and internalize the behavior common to them, and are usually not open to the boys in later years. Those activities in which the boys from both classes prefer to engage generally require large amounts of space and can not usually be effectively carried out within the limited confines of a single room. Another common characteristic of these activities is that they rarely require a high degree of verbalization. Instead, they often involve staccato-like verbal activity (such as "Bang, you're dead," "Hit the ball," and "Run") which is of limited use as they engage in interaction with others outside the immediate situation. There does exist a qualitative differential regarding the quality of language expressed by boys from the two classes which can only be accounted for by consideration of a wide range of influential factors. As was also true for the girls, the quality of the language patterns utilized by the parents (and particularly the mothers) differs with social class membership. Among the middle-class families it is a common practice for the parents to spend a considerable amount of time speaking and reading to the children, a practice which is not so common in those families characterized by lower social class membership. Thus, those children from the lower socio-economic class do not listen to or utilize formal language to the extent required of children with middle-class parents.

The boys from both socio-economic classes tend not to have a male model in their homes all day to observe and emulate. Among the boys from the lower socio-economic class this problem is exaggerated by the fact that there is a higher incidence of female-headed homes which deprives these children of contact with a consistent male model (or one with a desirable behavioral and attitudinal pattern) for even a short time every day. Thus the boys have considerably fewer opportunities than the girls to observe and internalize the behavioral and attitudinal patterns of those whom they must emulate in later years. Even when the male heads of the families are available the boys have little chance to observe them at work and to understand the nature of the activities in which they engage daily.

In direct contrast to what existed for the girls, the mass media (particularly television and the movies) tend to bombard the boys with a preponderance of models which depict males as either bungling fools easily manipulated by and subservient to their female mates or as daring he-men who go through life destroying or killing all who interfere with their plans. Neither of these models can be said to be worthy of emulation.

Conclusions

When seen from both a historical and a contemporary point of view it is clearly obvious that the public schools in our country were designed as instruments of the middle class; as a means of meeting their needs and at the same time facilitating the development of a more highly trained working class in an evolving society. This middle-class orientation is observable in terms of both the purposes of the institution and the personnel employed to maintain it.

An examination of those experiences and situations common to boys and girls from the middle and lower socio-economic classes also leads to the inescapable conclusion that the schools are best suited for educating only certain segments of the total student population. The facts leading to this conclusion are as follows:

1. girls are better prepared throughout their childhood for the type of clothing that must be worn in school; particularly with regard to its maintenance;

2. the admonishments to which girls are subject ("be careful," "be neat," "act like a young lady") are more in line with those of the school than those to which the boys are subjected;

3. the behavioral patterns which females in our society are expected to manifest are more similar to those required by the school than are those of the boys (Thus, the girls are used to passive activities, confinement to smaller spatial areas for long periods of time, more extensive verbalization, neatness, and following instructions.);

4. disadvantaged students are handicapped in school as a result of their limited training in the use of formal English. This handicap is particularly evident for disadvantaged boys. Since they do not receive sufficient training in the formal use of English either through their play activities or within their families, they are largely unprepared to meet the demands of the school;

5. since the middle-class boy has received sufficient training in the use of formal English to permit him some degree of success (whether he likes school or not), it is usually unneccessary for him to resort to aggressive behavior in order to attain recognition;

6. the boy from the lower socio-economic class, disliking school and severely limited in terms of opportunities for success, often finds aggressive behavior his only means of obtaining recognition in school;

7. within the school largely populated with disadvantaged youth the girls, as a result of their previous training and experience, manifest behavioral and attitudinal patterns which permit them a greater degree of success and recognition than is available to the boys;

8. the discriminatory behavior and attitudes of middle-class oriented teachers consistently operates to the disadvantage of lower-class students.

In summary, it is evident that students from homes in which the parents are representative of the lower socio-economic class are at a disadvantage in the schools, and this poses especially severe problems for disadvantaged boys.

It is of particular importance to note that, as currently operated, the schools are essentially institutions for girls; the activities in which the students must engage and the expectations by which their behavior is regulated are familiar to the girls as a result of their prior experiences but are largely unfamiliar to the boys as they enter school.

As a result, it can be anticipated that the disciplinary problems which boys currently create within the schools will continue to increase in number and severity, and that the problem will be most severe in those schools with higher proportions of disadvantaged boys.

It is suggested here, as it has been many times, that the schools must initiate instructional and operational patterns designed to promote the maximum development of every individual. Related to this is the fact that teachers must receive a more thorough training; one which will better prepare them for the role of determining which teaching-learning conditions are best for each student and, also, to provide those situations.

It may be necessary for the schools to reexamine their instructional program in terms of the problems posed by the differential expectation and behavior patterns which boys and girls bring to school. Perhaps, for some subjects, it would be preferable for the schools to provide instruction for boys and girls in separate classes. There is also a strong possibility that, in some cases, boys might spend an entire year in school without having girls mixed into their classes.

As pointed out earlier it is the disadvantaged students, and particularly the boys, who bear the brunt of the inequities built into the present system. Therefore, it is in schools with a significant percentage of disadvantaged boys that this modification of operational and instructional patterns should be initiated first.

We, as educators, have always recognized our responsibility to provide special programs for "exceptional" children. To that end, specialized programs have been provided for gifted and retarded children, for those who could not hear and for those without sight, and for those with psychological problems as well as for those with physical disabilities. We must now take another step toward professional maturity and recognize that the disadvantaged student is also an "exceptional" child and requires the services of a highly trained teacher to carry out a specially designed educational program.

Some day, when teachers attain a considerably greater degree of professional maturity than is currently the case, it will be apparent that every child is "exceptional" and requires a specialized program designed to meet his particular needs. Until that time we must be content with a slow but, hopefully, steady rate of progress.

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